READING INTO THE PAST: A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MANGAIA IN THE COOK ISLANDS

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of The Australian National University

January 1991

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Ki oku tohunga ki te reo Maori o Aotearoa:

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i haere atu i te ara nui a Tane.

Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated
this thesis is my own work.

Michael P.J. Reilly

January 1991

Opuopu te uru ē no Mangaia ē!
No Mangaia!
Kua pueke te ai ki vaenga moana
Ki te ata kurakura

The hills of Mangaia are lost to sight
Alas for Mangaia!
Torches light our pathway o'er the sea
Where the ruddy sun went down.

Koroa's Lament for Iro the Exile,
translated by William Wyatt Gill.

ABSTRACT

This thesis applies techniques of textual analysis to selected Mangaian historical narratives. By viewing the texts as literary constructions an historian is able to gain a better perspective of the way the narrations were structured and clothed with particular ethnographic and historical textures. The introduction discusses the principal collectors and the ways they represented their work.

The first part establishes the bases upon which the Mangaian past was told. Despite the transformations experienced since the arrival of the missions a significant degree of continuity can still be found in the roles of traditional experts, in particular of women, and in the ways traditions are transmitted.

The second part explores a selection of Mangaian texts. Chapters four and five delve into the extant versions of a Mangaian origin myth and their categories of the other world--the supernatural. The roles of the ancestral figures and the supernatural beings emphasise the important place occupied by mythological texts in the telling of Mangaia's past. The physical, cultural and spiritual mapping of Mangaia is established through the conflicts and partial resolutions achieved between the supernatural agencies and the island's founding ancestor. Chapter six explores the connections between these categories of the otherworld and historically recorded visits to the island. The fearful attitude these visitors provoked and the attempts made by Mangaians to control the encounters reflect the ways Mangaians viewed the world.

Chapters seven to twelve examine texts which elucidate the roles performed by the principal actors in Mangaian society. The conversion and prophecy dreams reported by the priestly spiritual ruler emphasise the shamanic dimension of the Mangaian priesthood. The supreme political or temporal rulership is discussed; in particular, the contested nature of the office; the periodic appearance of a subsidiary rulership; and the manner of succession to temporal rule. The narratives emphasise the complementarity envisaged between the spiritual and temporal rulers. Their cooperative duality was understood as ensuring the island's peace and prosperity. Conversely, the island suffered when these rulers opposed each other. However, the hierarchical appearance of Mangaian society structured around these complementary rulerships was always leavened by crosscutting personal, family, tribal or religious loyalties which acted to reintegrate society after political conflicts.

Reading into the many texted past of Mangaia not only emphasises the richness and diversity of its ethnographic record but enables an historian to check the interested nature of particular texts and their narrators. This approach may be applied to any historical enterprise.

Table of Contents

Declaration i

Abstract iii

List of Figures and Maps vii

Preface viii

Glossary of Mangaian Terms xix

Abbreviations xxiii

INTRODUCTION

1 The Texts of Mangaian History 1

PART 1 MATTERS OF TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE

2 Women and Traditional Categories of Expert 27

3 The Transmission of Traditions 40

PART 2 TEXTS AND CONTEXTS OF MANGAIAN HISTORY

4 A Mangaian Origin Myth 55

5 'Te Anau Tuarangi, *the Heavenly Family*' 84

6 The Children of Tangaroa 106

7 The Dreams of Numangatini 147

8 The 'Peace' of the Peacemakers 179

9 The Succession of the Peacemaker 190

10 The Passage to Peace 211

11 The Challenge of Arepe'e 231

12 The Challenge of Ngāti Vara 247

Conclusion: The Texted Past 275

APPENDICES

A Dating the Darkness/Light Contrast 279

B The Changing Tribe 281

C Mangaian Language Texts 285

D An Example of Gill's Editing: 'E Eva, na Teinaakia, no te Mate ia Tuaopapa' 308

BIBLIOGRAPHY 315

LIST OF FIGURES AND MAPS

FIGURES

1 Genealogy of Mamae and Tereavai 6
2 Genealogy of Tereevangeria Aratangi 8
3 Genealogy of Rangi and Tumuteanaoa 69
4 Genealogy of Mourua 112
5 Genealogy of Kirikovi and Pa‘i 113
6 Genealogy of Tokoau 113
7 Genealogy of Metuaiviivi 136
8 Genealogy of Muraa‘i and Ataiti 137
9 Genealogy of Tavare 139
10 Genealogy of Maunga‘ati 140
11 Genealogy of Metuauti 141
12 Genealogy of Numangatini 148
13 Priestly Genealogy of Vaeruarau 149
14 Genealogy of Namu 161
15 Genealogies of Te Aoiti, Rau‘ue and Vaipo 228
16 Genealogy of Akaina 243
17 Genealogy of Ngāti Vara 248
18 Genealogy of Akatara and Te Uanuku 253
19 Genealogy of Mautara’s descendants 273

MAPS

The Cook Islands and the Pacific xvi
(Source: R.G. Crocombe, *Land Tenure in the Cook Islands*
(Melbourne, 1964), 5)

Mangaia xvii
(Source: Te Rangi Hiroa, *Mangaian Society*, BPBMB 122
(Honolulu, 1934), between 4 and 5)

‘Native Conception of the Geography of Mangaia’ xviii
(Source: Auckland Public Library, GNZMSS 45)

PREFACE

This historiographical reading of Mangaia's past focusses upon the extant texts and oral testimony by both Mangaian and non-Mangaian authors. Mangaia, or to use its older name, A'ua'u, is located in the southern group of the Cook Islands in eastern Polynesia, about 177 kilometres east by south-east from Rarotonga, the principal island of the group.[1] Mangaia lies about 820 kilometres from Tahiti, 1,500 kilometres from the island of Upolu in Western Samoa, and 1,620 kilometres from the island of Tongatapu in Tonga.[2] In the early nineteenth century the Mangaian population was estimated at between two and three thousand.[3] In 1981 it totalled 1,364.[4] The total land area of Mangaia is 51 square kilometres.[5]

The island's most distinctive physical feature is the *makatea*, the craggy limestone cliffs which rise up above the desolate and barren coastline. These cliffs reach as high as 60 metres and in breadth measure anywhere between 60 and 1,500 metres. Lying in the interior of the island, between the *makatea* and the central mountain, Rangimoti'a, 169 metres above sea level, are the irrigated plots where the staple food, the *taro*, is cultivated. Access from the sea edge to the interior, except in a few places, is next to impossible.[6]

Since at least the early nineteenth century Mangaia has been divided into six districts (*puna*), each of which is subdivided into subdistricts (*tapere*). The six *puna* are presently called Kei'a, Veitatei, Tamarua, Ivirua, Karanga and Tava'enga. These districts commence from Rangimoti'a and fan out in a wedge-shape to the sea shore. (See the accompanying map, p. xvii, for an illustration of these land boundaries.) All the divisions of land are under the rule of district chiefs (*kavana*) and subdistrict chiefs (*'ui rangatira*). These chiefs trace their title to an allocation of land near the beginning of the nineteenth century. They remain responsible for arbitrating in land disputes and generally maintaining the peace.[7]

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[1] *Pacific Islands Yearbook*, ed. Norman and Ngaire Douglas, 16th ed. ([Sydney], 1989), 51.

[2] *Admiralty Distance Tables: Volume V: Pacific Ocean*, 2nd ed. (London, 1953), 71. The figures were originally in miles and calculated the distances from Rarotonga. My conversions are only approximate and are adjusted to allow for the additional distance to Mangaia.

[3] A discussion of the statistics for Mangaia's population in the nineteenth century in Norma McArthur, *Island Populations of the Pacific* (Canberra, 1968), 175--79, and table 34.

[4] *Pacific Islands Yearbook*, 35. The population has not varied greatly this century. E.g. McArthur, table 35; *Pacific Islands: Volume II: Eastern Pacific*, B.R. 519 B (Restricted), Geographical Handbook Series, Naval Intelligence Division (n.p., 1943), 523.

[5] *Pacific Islands Yearbook*, 39.

[6] Ibid., 35, 39, 51.

The Mangaians retain a strong sense of cultural uniqueness.[8] Outsiders, whether Europeans (Papa'ā) or other Cook Islanders, are treated with a surprising degree of reserve. One expatriate Mangaian woman described the attitude as 'looking you up and down and not caring'.[9] This attitude is extended to the domain of politics. The Cook Islands Land Court which functions on all the other islands in the group has never been permitted a toehold in Mangaia. Even non-Mangaian pastors of the Cook Islands Christian Church (hereinafter the CICC, formerly the LMS), the *de facto* established church in these islands, find great difficulty settling in on Mangaia where the local community seems to prefer ministers from their own island. When discussing the local treatment of outsiders Mangaians are always ready to admit that before Christianity their ancestors killed such people; however, they stress that visitors are treated much better today.

Mangaians possess a conservative culture, holding on strongly to a sense of the past. This is reflected in different aspects of their life. Locals will describe themselves as

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[7] Cook Islands Notebook No. 1, information from the *'ui rangatira* of the Tei-ia-roa *tapere* in Karanga, Pōkino Aperahama, 2 May 1988. Aperahama is a former Chairman of the Island Council and member for Mangaia in the Cook Islands Parliament. Cf. this view of the chiefs with that of Papa Aratangi who believes that the *kavana* are the cause of many disputes, taking lands for their own families and looking down on the *'ui rangatira*. 'The Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society in the 1820s' (BD Project, Pacific Theological College, Suva, Fiji, 1986), 75.

[8] The following discussion of Mangaia is derived from the author's own observations while on a brief visit to the island in 1988. Given the brevity of my stay these comments are not meant as definitive but rather to sketch the state of things as one outsider perceived them at a particular point in time.

[9] Cook Islands Field Diary, 27 April 1988. Slightly edited report of the statement.

Parate'e (British); they treasure a Union Jack given by Queen Victoria;[10] children can be heard singing 'God Save the Queen' along with church hymns. Since the Cook Islands became independent of New Zealand in 1965 Mangaians have talked of breaking away from the new state and seeking political integration with the United Kingdom or New Zealand.

An important feature of life on Mangaia is the place of the CICC. This church is intimately bound up with the government of the island. The chiefs are church deacons and also the senior government officials on the island. This relationship is often seen as a continuation of the old pre-Christian social structure within the new.[11]

There are three CICC churches each located in one of the island's three villages near the coast line: Oneroa, Ivirua and Tamarua. The *kavana* remain responsible for looking after the church pastors and for the upkeep of the buildings. The ministers and their families regularly receive gifts of food from their parishioners.[12] Threats to the authority of the church are taken seriously by Mangaians. Recently, more fundamentalist Protestant groups have converted some Church members including CICC deacons, to the evident concern of the pastors, the chiefs, and indeed the Church authorities in Rarotonga.[13]

The historian, unlike these recent missionaries, does not arouse such a degree of concern, provided his or her interest is kept within the scholarly domain. The Mangaians whom I spoke to took a great interest in any such enterprise. One *'ui rangatira* even expressed his wish that a comprehensive ethnographic study of the island might be undertaken.[14] Whether this was a hint that I ought to change topics was never made clear. He certainly believed such knowledge could only advance Mangaia's interests. I hope that the texts of the island's past which I will analyse and retell may help further such an ambition.

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[10] Tereevangeria Aratangi, a *tumu korero* (traditional expert), related an account that the *ariki* (high chief, king) of Mangaia met Queen Victoria during a visit to the Pacific. He was the second to last to meet her, followed only by the King of Tonga. The *ariki* received a walking stick, a stamp [a seal ?], and the flag. Cook Islands Notebook No. 1, 28 April 1988.

[11] This idea of continuity within Mangaian society and especially in its religious beliefs is referred to by Papa Aratangi, 'The Transformation of the Mangaian Religion' (Master of Theology thesis, Pacific Theological College, Suva, Fiji, 1986), e.g. 109--14.

[12] Watching these gifts from the back verandah of the Oneroa pastor's house I was reminded of the offerings formerly given to *atua* (deities) and their *pi'a atua* (priest) in pre-Christian Mangaia. This theme of the old continuing within the new is often encountered in present day Mangaian society.

[13] The author played a small part in this piece of contemporary ecclesiastical history by taking a letter reporting on the situation from the senior pastor on the island to the Church authorities at Rarotonga.

When quoting Mangaian I have followed a few simple conventions. Mangaian texts are cited in italics to distinguish them from their English translations. The use of a different font is not meant to imply that the Mangaian occupies an inferior textual position to the English prose. Quotations from Mangaian sources which are incorporated in the body of the English narrative or the titles of vernacular texts are given in quotation marks.

When quoting Mangaian songs I have relied upon the vernacular text in the original manuscript or manuscripts where these exist. This practice was necessary since Gill tended to amend Mangaian words in an apparent attempt to harmonise them with other island usages. Such a practice is particularly noticeable in the case of the Mangaian verbal particles *'ua, 'ia, 'a* and the focus particle *'o* which he often rendered as *kua, kia, ka* and *ko.* In some cases however the Mangaian authors themselves used both forms, sometimes within the same text.

I have not changed the spelling, punctuation, division of words or the use of diacritics in the Mangaian quotations. The nineteenth century writings in particular regularly use macrons where modern practice would dictate the employment of the glottal stop.

I have made no editorial changes to the texts to bring them into line with modern practices for two reasons. First, it is in keeping with good historical practice to present the Mangaian text as near as possible to its original state. The use of italics has been adopted to aid readability. Second, it would be impossible--however desirable--to adopt a more consistent policy regarding the use of diacritics as the current published dictionary for Rarotongan Maori, which is also the main aid for Mangaian, inserts them very haphazardly.[15] Earlier publications are equally unhelpful. The Cook Islands Bible (*Te Bibilia Tapu*) only inserts macrons for words the meanings of which would otherwise be unclear.

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[14] Author's recollection of a conversation with several Oneroa deacons including the *'ui rangatira* Atingakau.

Proper nouns are marked with diacritics where the textual sources are in a large measure of agreement. The spelling of these names varies from text to text. I have tried to include all the variants while opting to use the most commonly accepted form. Certain Mangaian terms and phrases which appear regularly in the text are listed, with an English explanation, in a glossary.

Unless otherwise noted I am responsible for all the translations and interpretations of Mangaian. When translating Mangaian texts I have endeavoured to keep to a more literal than literary reading, so as to ensure as much accuracy as possible. This has often meant amending Gill's translations of Mangaian song poetry which tended to be influenced more by considerations of good verse than textual accuracy.[16] Any errors of translation which a reader may detect are therefore solely of my own making.

Many people and institutions have helped make this thesis possible. The Australian National University provided me with a Ph.D Scholarship and financed my Pacific fieldwork. The Government of the Cook Islands gave me permission to undertake research in the islands. I especially wish to acknowledge the assistance of the Honourable N. David; the Secretary of the Prime Minister's Department, Tuiau Tongia; and the Honourary Commissioner to the Cook Islands in Australia, Michael Nicholas.

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[15] Stephen Savage, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language of Rarotonga* (Wellington, 1962). The only published source for Mangaian is the word list written by F.W. Christian, *Vocabulary of the Mangaian Language*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 11 (Honolulu, 1924; reprint, New York, 1971). Christian's work was the subject of unfavourable comment by the Polynesianist, S. Percy Smith. S. Percy Smith to H.E. Gregory, 11 June 1921, Polynesian Society Papers Acc 80--115, Box 4A Correspondence. Given the small number of words I have not relied upon Christian's work very much.

[16] Te Rangi Hiroa made a similar observation: 'He [WWG] was attempting to translate the spirit of the text so that a general public could appreciate the literary value of the poem'. Te Rangi Hiroa went on to point out some of Gill's mistranslations which obscured important ethnographical details. Buck [Te Rangi Hiroa] to Stimson, 24 February 1932, MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 10. Copy of original in MS SC Emory Group 9 Box 4.12, BPBML.

The Cook Islands Christian Church did much to facilitate my stay in the islands, both in Rarotonga and on Mangaia. I wish to thank the Executive Council of the CICC, and in particular, Tere Mataio, the Secretary General; the Principal and students of the Takamoa Theological College; and especially my host family while in the college, Ni‘o and Eti Mare. On Mangaia the church officers at Oneroa assisted my visit. The Reverend and Mrs Temere Poaru kindly extended to me the hospitality of their home. I remain especially grateful for the way in which they and their children, particularly Mārere and Viliamu, accepted me into their family life. While on Mangaia I received much assistance from two visiting theological college students Īana Ta‘ua‘i and Mauri Paulo.

Many people gave me valuable help during my fieldwork and subsequent research. On Mangaia a number of individuals gave freely of their time and knowledge including the late *kavana* Rape Harry; the *‘ui rangatira* Pōkino Aperahama, Atingakau; and Tereevangeria Aratangi. Bishop Leamy of Rarotonga permitted me to consult papers in the Catholic diocesan archive. Niel Gunson provided me with relevant material derived from his own research in the United Kingdom and in the Cook Islands. Papa Aratangi extended my knowledge of Mangaia, sought out additional information, and translated some of the texts used in the thesis. Marivee McMath and Donald Marshall generously shared their knowledge and writings about Mangaia. Kauraka Kauraka answered queries about the modern recording of traditions in the Cook Islands. Members of the Tupa family in Takuva‘ine, Rarotonga, welcomed me back into their family after twelve years. Eric Casiño smoothed my path in Hawaii while Renato and Josephine Cruz provided me with handy accommodation.

Much of my research could not have been done without the staff and resources of various libraries and archival depositories. In Australia: the Records Room of the Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History; the Library of the Australian National University; the National Library of Australia; the State Library of Victoria; and the Mitchell Library, the State Library of New South Wales.

In New Zealand: the Alexander Turnbull Library, the National Library of New Zealand; the National Archives of New Zealand; the Auckland Public Library; the Auckland Institute and Museum Library; the Hocken Library, University of Otago; and the Libraries of the Universities of Auckland, Otago, and the Victoria University of Wellington.

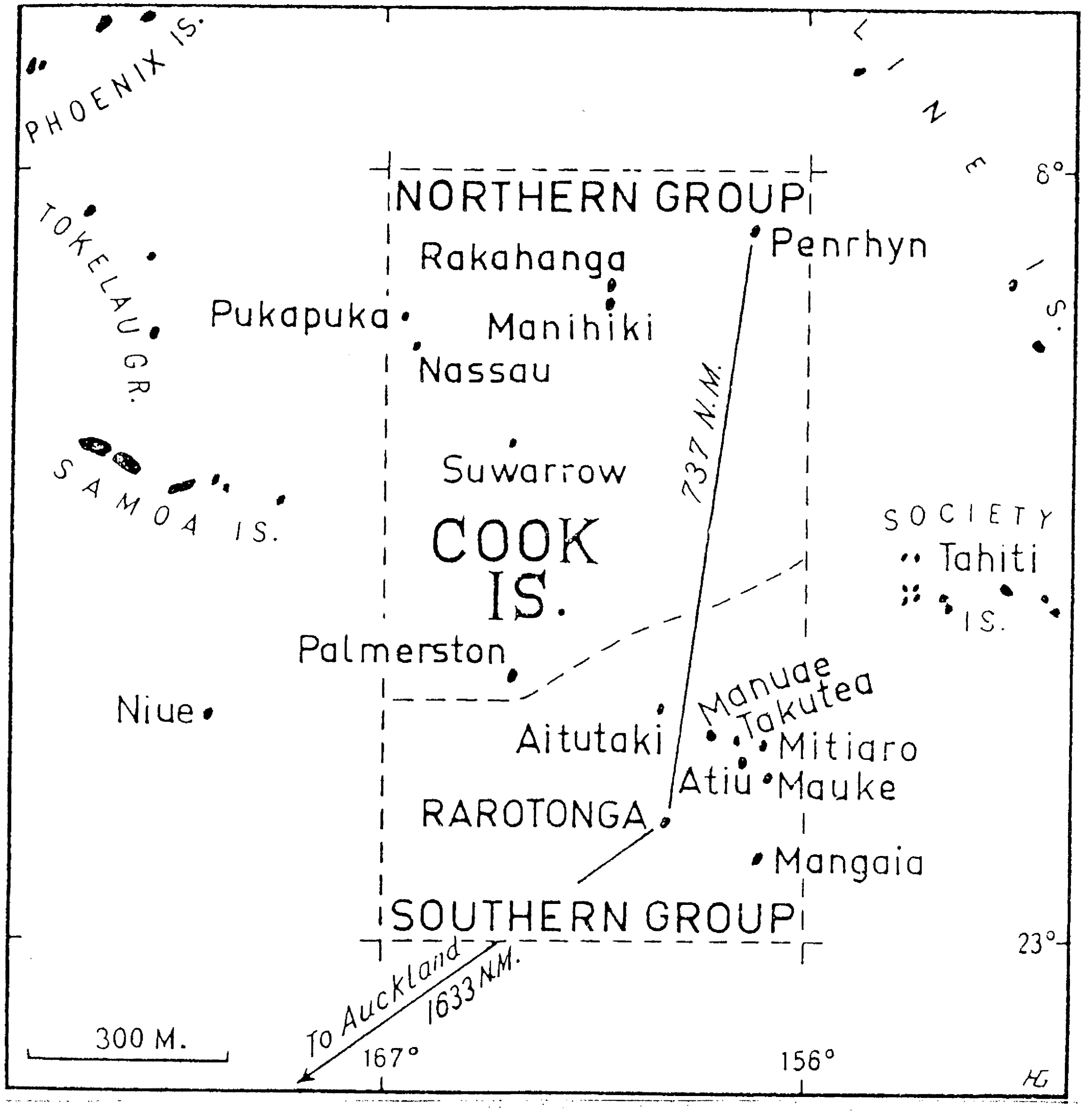
In the Cook Islands: Carmen Temata and the staff of the Cook Islands Library and Museum; George Paniana of the National Archives of the Cook Islands; Sister Margaret and the archives of the Roman Catholic diocese of Rarotonga; the volunteer staff in the Genealogical Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints; and the CICC records at the Takamoa Theological College.

In Honolulu: the Bernice P. Bishop Museum Library; the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library; and the Thomas Hale Hamilton Library of the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Copies of relevant documents were kindly sent to me by James H. Hutson, Manuscript Division, the Library of Congress, in Washington, D.C.; Alan F. Jesson, the Bible Society's Librarian, Cambridge University Library; and officers of the Inter Documentation Company, Leiden, The Netherlands, who provided microfiches of parts of the Religious Tract Society correspondence.

Many people have contributed to the intellectual shaping of this thesis. I owe most to my supervisor, Niel Gunson, who gave good counsel and always showed a keen interest in what I was discovering. I also wish to acknowledge my advisers: Gavan Daws, Donald Denoon and Darrell Tryon. Ranajit Guha introduced me to the world of semiotic and structuralist readings. Bob Langdon happily shared his knowledge of the Pacific. I also received help from Kieran Schmidt, Dorothy Shineberg, Jennifer Terrell, and Toon van Meijl.

The Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History provided a haven for the research and writing of the thesis. The successive heads of department, particularly Gavan Daws and Tony Reid, and the administrative support staff, especially Dorothy McIntosh, Julie Gordon and Jude Shanahan, contributed much to creating the pleasant departmental atmosphere. I am indebted to the past and present members of the administrative staff and to Sally-Anne Leigh for guiding me through the idiosyncracies of computing. While in the department I was given much practical and scholarly advice by staff and student colleagues. The help I received from Phyllis Herda, Ruurdje Laarhoven, Klaus Neumann and Twang Peck Yang deserves special mention. I also profitted from the discussions in a number of student reading seminars in the Departments of Pacific and Southeast Asian History and Anthropology; the latter was organised by Ton Otto who kindly invited this historian along.

These acknowledgements would not be complete without putting on record my especial thanks to the family, friends and acquaintances who gave me help and support. A particular thankyou to my parents who never seem to doubt their children's abilities; to my older sister and her family; to Ruurdje Laarhoven and Silayan and Cassandra Casiño; to Stephen Buetow; and to Allon Uhlmann for his timely sense of humour, his linguistic vigilance, and his argumentation--*he pou āwhina ia ki a au.*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Palmerston
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Manuae
Takutea
Aitutaki
Mitiaro
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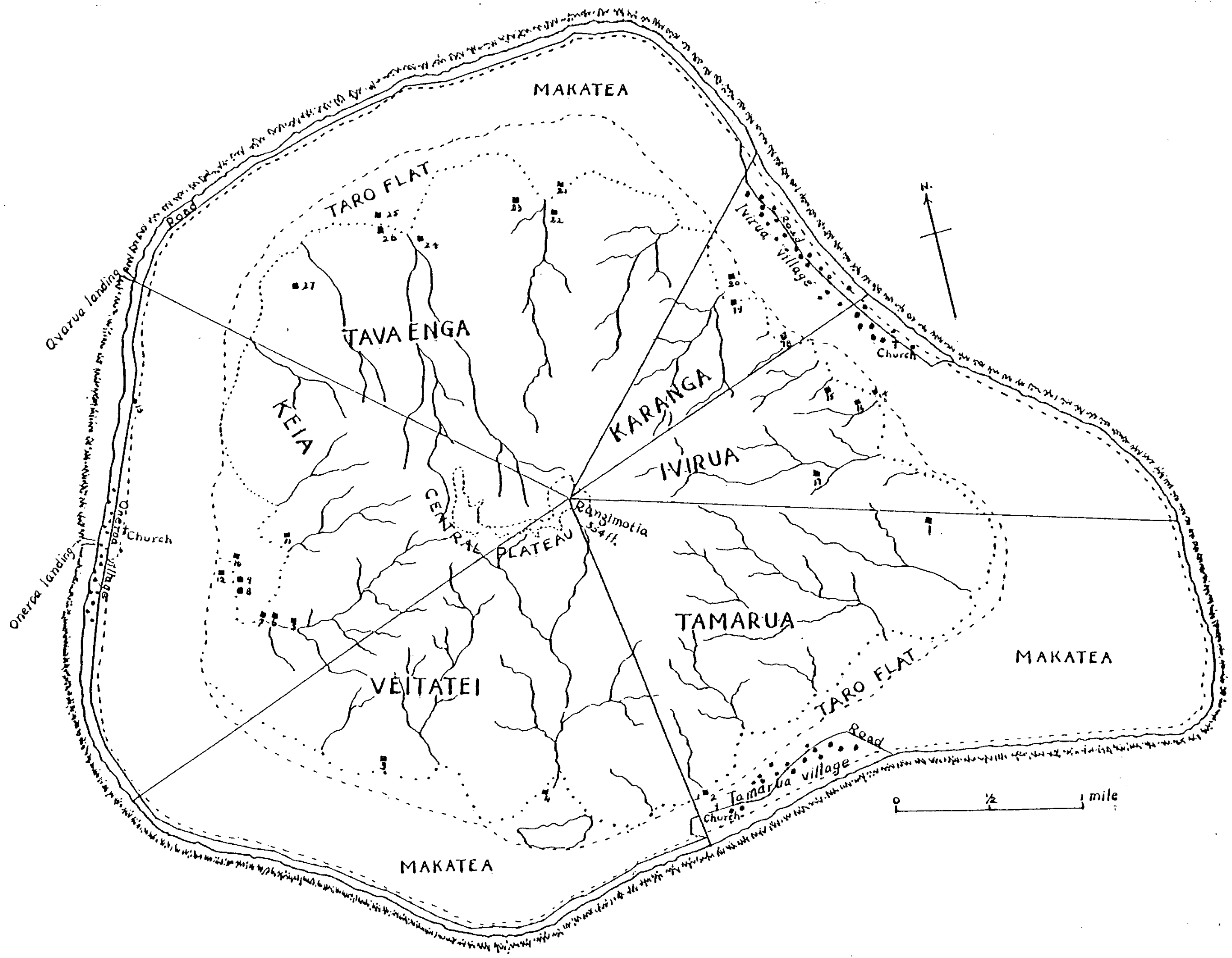

FIGURE 1.—Map of Mangaia showing districts, settlements, and major physiographic features. Numbers refer to maraes visited: 1, Maungaroa; 2, Aumoana; 3, Areuna; 4, Taku; 5, Mara; 6, Araata; 7, Akaoro; 8, Maraeara; 9, Itikau; 10, Mau-tokerau; 11, Rangi-taua; 12, Tukituki-mata; 13, Orongo; 14, Ivanui; 15, Taumatini; 16, Maputu; 17, Rualva; 18, Te-ra-tui-o-Vero; 19, Are-vaka; 20, Tangiia-rakoa; 21, Marae-teva; 22, Maramara-atua; 23, Tuaotukutuku; 24, Arakerake; 25, Karora; 26, Arangirea; 27, Mau-kiore.

N.B. This has never
yet been printed.
W. W. Gill

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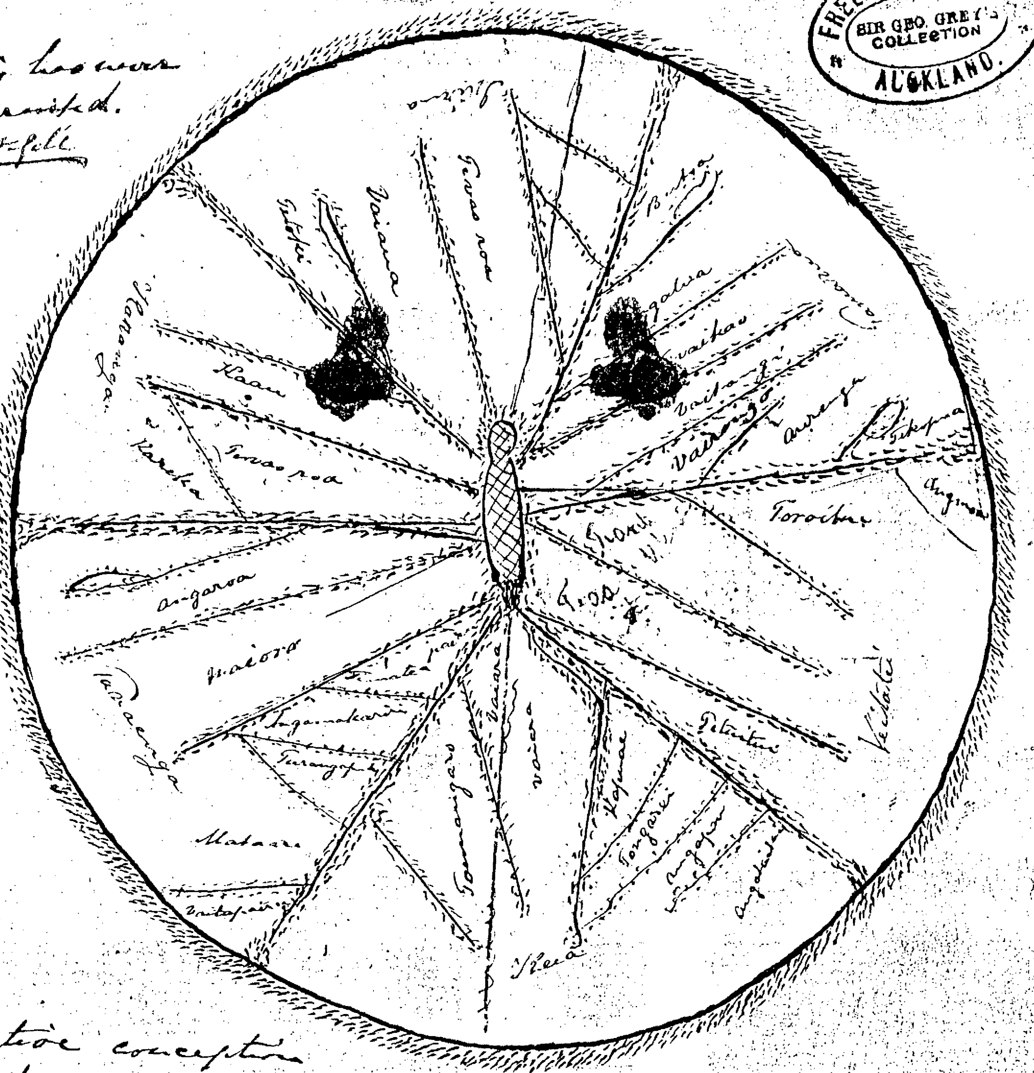

Native conception
of the geography of
Mangaia! made by a native. Each valley is correctly named
W. W. Gill

GLOSSARY OF MANGAIAN TERMS

aʻi kavere = meal consumed when experts meet to discuss historical and traditional lore

(Te) ʻAkatauira = second born grandson of Rongo, second *ariki pa uta*, the first *kai*; eponymous ancestor of Te ʻAkatauira subtribe of Ngariki

Te ʻĀmama = family of the priests of Motoro; alternative name for Ngāti Vara or Ngāti Mautara

ʻānau = family

ʻaō = the people defeated in battle who consequently lost their land and lived in various refuges or under the protection of victorious chiefs

ʻare ei ʻau = miniature house for peace, representing the rule of a new *mangaia*, built on each *marae*

ʻare kōrero = a form of traditional expert; see *kōrero.*

ariki = in pre-contact Mangaia the island's spiritual rulers or high priests who officiated at various ceremonies; today the titular ruler of the island: *ariki karakia* = praying high priest, alternative name for the senior priest, the *ariki pa uta*; *ariki pa tai* = seaward spiritual ruler or shore high priest; *ariki pa uta* = interior spiritual ruler or inland high priest; *ariki no te tapora kai* = spiritual ruler or high priest responsible for food

aronga mana = the group (of) power; the collective chiefs

atua = god or deity; see *io*; shortened form of *piʻa atua*

ʻau = peace, rule, reign; alternative name of *mangaia*

ʻAvaiki = Mangaian spirit world

Avatea, Vātea = divine father of Tangaroa and Rongo, husband of Papa-raʻiraʻi, son of the Mangaian genitrix Vari-ma-te-takere

etene = heathen, referring to ancestors of Mangaian Christians

eva = dirge or lament

ika, mangaika = fish; human sacrifice

io = god or deity; see also *atua*

Ivirua = district of Mangaia

kai = food; a subsidiary title of the *mangaia* sometimes held separately though remaining in the temporal ruler's gift

kaiparau = bookeater, designating the Christian converts in early nineteenth century Mangaia

kairanga nuku = pre-contact subdistrict chief, replaced by *ʻui rangatira*

karakia = religious incantation; prayer

Karanga = district of Mangaia

kavana = modern district chief, derived from English term governor; see also *pava*

kea inamoa = sacred stone on Orongo *marae*, site of human sacrifice and installation of *ariki*; alternative name *koatu karakia*

Kei'a = district of Mangaia

kiko mua = first flesh, signifying the first born of a marriage

kiore = pre-contact Mangaian rat; alternative name for human sacrifice, see *ika*

koina-rā = alternative name for the *mangaia*, temporal ruler

kōpū (tangata) = tribe or family; *kōpū ika* = a tribe dedicated for the human sacrifice to inaugurate a new *mangaia*

kōrero = a form of traditional expert; a tribal historian; storyteller; probably corresponds with Gill's 'wise man' or 'wise woman'; other synonymous terms are *'are kōrero* and *tumu kōrero*

koromatua = pre-contact religious expert; according to Gill he was responsible for instructing the *ariki*; also called *korometua*

makatea = ecological zone, limestone cliffs surrounding Mangaia's interior

manu = animal; bird; messenger; person

mangaia = pre-contact temporal ruler, also called the *'au*, or *koina-rā*; peace

mangaika = see *ika*

marae = pre-contact religious structure

maro = traditional garment: man's girdle or loin cloth; *maro aitu* = a special sacred *maro* used in certain Mangaian religious rituals

maunga = mountain, referring to central hill of Mangaia, an ecological zone; see Rangimoti'a

mokopuna = grandchild(ren)

Motoro = second ranking deity of Mangaia, associated with Ngāriki

Ngāriki = founding tribe of Mangaia, descended from Rangi, Te 'Akatauira and their brother Mokoiro

ngāti = tribe; part of a tribal name, e.g. Ngāti Vara, Ngāti Tāne

Ngāti Mana'une = Mangaian tribe

Ngāti Tāne = Mangaian tribe

Ngāti Vara = Mangaian tribe; see Te 'Āmama

Papa-ra'ira'i, Papa = divine mother of Tangaroa and Rongo, wife of Avatea or Vātea

Pāpārangi, Ngāriki = subtribe of Ngāriki, descended from Rangi, eldest son of Rongo

pa'u aka'au = ceremonial drum used during inauguration of a new *mangaia* to announce peace

pava = pre-contact district chief, replaced by *kavana*

pe'e = a category of Mangaian song containing much historical information

Tepei, Teipe = a tribe or subtribe associated with Tonga'iti

pi'a atua = literally 'receptacle (of the) god'; priest; also known as *pi'a* or *atua*

poke = a pudding-like food

puna = district

raei = part of the *makatea*, traditional refuge for the dispossessed

Rangi = eldest grandson of Rongo by his daughter Tavake, founding ancestor of Mangaia, first *ariki* and *mangaia*

rangi = heavens, sky; more correctly, the ethereal space; the not-earth region

Rangimoti'a = central mountain of Mangaia, refuge, site of religious rituals in pre-contact era

Rongo = second born son of Vātea and Papa, usurping brother of Tangaroa; principal god of Mangaia

ta'ae = a category of supernatural being: demon, monster; something monstrous, fierce, wild

tai = seashore

tama'ine = daughter

Tamarua = district of Mangaia

tama tāne = genealogical connection through the father

tama va'ine = genealogical connection through the mother

Tangaroa = eldest son of Vātea and Papa, supplanted by Rongo; the absent deity of Mangaia

tangata purepure = sorcerer or sorceress; also *ta'unga purepure*

tapairu = a category of supernatural being, usually female, often described as daughters of Miru, goddess of the otherworld; eldest daughter of a chief

tapere = subdistrict

ta'unga = expert; a craftsman

taura (atua) = a shamanic priest or priestess

Tava‘enga = district of Mangaia

teina = younger brother, sister or cousin of same sex

teka = game of dart throwing; *ta‘ua teka* = arena for dart throwing game

tiaki = keeper or caretaker

tikoru, tikoru mataiapo = a thick, white paper-mulberry cloth worn by god-figures, spiritual rulers, priests and leading chiefs on *marae*; cloth covering entrances to sacred buildings

toa = warrior; ironwood tree

toki = adze; axe

toko = chiefly military supporter or executive of incumbent or aspirant *mangaia*; stick on *marae* representing support for the *mangaia*

Tonga‘iti = Mangaian tribe, contested control of island with Rangi, virtually wiped out in early nineteenth century

tua‘ine = sister of a brother

tuakana = elder brother, sister or cousin of the same sex

tupe = a game, resembling quoits

(pa) tuarangi = a general term for all supernatural beings, including spirits, ghosts, non-Mangaian human beings; also called *vaerua kino*; horizon

tumu kōrero = a form of traditional expert; see *kōrero*

Tumuteanaoa (Echo) = sister of Vātea and senior daughter (*tuakana*) of Vari-ma-te-takere, aboriginal inhabitant of Mangaia discovered by Rangi

tuna = eel

tūpāpaku = a supernatural being; ghost; also called *mauri*

tupuna = grandparent(s)

uta = inland

utu = a tree, *barringtonia speciosa*

vaerua, vārua = spirit; ghost; soul

Vaeruarangi = subtribe of Ngariki, descended from youngest son of Rongo, Mokoiro; holders of the *ariki no te tapora kai*

vai = water, especially freshwater

Veitatei = district of Mangaia

ABBREVIATIONS

A series of abbreviations are used throughout the footnotes for commonly cited references:

Advent = Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck), 'Notes towards "Advent of Christianity" in the Cook Islands', MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 7.5, BPBML.

B = [Mamae], 'Genealogical Tables of Te 'Amama or Ngati-Vara tribe', MS Case 5 Co 2, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Library (BPBML). It is often cited as the Bishop typescript in the thesis text.

Bmm = 'Mangaian Mythology', MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 7.1, BPBML.

CIC = William Wyatt Gill, *Cook Islands Custom* (Fiji, 1979).

DL = William Wyatt Gill, *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia with Illustrative Clan Songs* (London, 1894; reprint ed. [Fiji], 1984).

G 44 = William Wyatt Gill, 'Original MSS of *Historical Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia* [earlier title of *From Darkness to Light*]', GNZ MSS 44, Grey Collection, Auckland Public Library (AP).

G 45 = William Wyatt Gill, 'Original MSS of Native Songs etc., used in his *Myths and Songs* and *Historical Sketches of Savage Life*', GNZ MSS 45, Grey Collection, AP.

Jottings = William Wyatt Gill, *Jottings from the Pacific* ([London], 1885).

Life = William Wyatt Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles; or, Scenes and Incidents in the South Pacific and New Guinea* (London, [1876]).

M = Stephen Savage, Collection of Books and Articles, Births, Deaths, Marriages, Wills, Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Days Saints Genealogical Library, Avarua, Rarotonga, Cook Islands, reel no. ILC # 0039. It is often cited as the Mormon manuscript in the thesis text.

MangS = Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck), *Mangaian Society*, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Bulletin 122 (Honolulu, 1934).

Mi 131, 132 = William Wyatt Gill, 'Rarotonga Notes, Songs, Stars, Stories, [and] Letters', National Library of New Zealand, Alexander Turnbull Library, Polynesian Society MS Papers 1187, folder 59, micro 131, 132.

MK = National Archives of the Cook Islands, Cultural Development Division, Ministry of Social Services, Mangaian *Korero* Series, 1975.

MP = Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck), 'Mangaian MS Parts', MS SC Buck, BPBML.

M&S = William Wyatt Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, preface by F. Max Müller (London, 1876).

SSL = Council for World Mission Archives (formerly the London Missionary Society (LMS)), South Seas Letters.

SSP 1 = Council for World Mission Archives (formerly LMS), South Seas Personal Box 1.

SSSP Newell = Council for World Mission Archives (formerly LMS), South Seas Special Personal J.E. Newell, Boxes 1--16.

INTRODUCTION

ONE

THE TEXTS OF MANGAIAN HISTORY

Mangaia's past is told in a series of texts recorded since the mid-nineteenth century until the present. Some were written by Mangaians last century, drawing on the oral traditions of their tribal and family groups. In 1975 local experts recorded stories which were later transcribed into written texts. Since the nineteenth century non-Mangaian scholars have published the island traditions drawing upon the written and oral testimony of indigenous associates. An examination of these collectors and recorders and the texts they prepared provides the context for the island's past.

Despite Mangaia's depth of historical documentation and the breadth of recording by both local and European scholars little historical work has been done recently.[1] Even less effort has been expended in attempting to critically re-examine the existing historical literature.[2] This situation, which exists more generally in the study of history in the Pacific, has led to a call for the application of new techniques of textual criticism to the 'traditional texts'.[3] Such an application could learn much from other fields of history which have long used textual sources.[4] Two textually-oriented fields of practice have influenced the present re-exploration of Mangaia's historical literature: hermeneutics and structuralist-inspired literary criticism.

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[1] Papa Aratangi, a Mangaian pastor, has written on Mangaia's religious history using published sources and local traditions derived, in part, from his mother, Tereevangeria Aratangi, a *tumu kōrero* (traditional expert). See 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society'; 'Transformation of the Mangaian Religion'.

[2] Two anthropologists have analysed certain parts of Mangaia's mythological literature. See Christian Campbell Clerk, 'The Animal World of the Mangaians' (Ph.D thesis, University College, London, 1981), chapter 10; 'The Fish of Rongo: Some Readings of a Polynesian Myth', *Folklore* 96, 2 (1985), 234--42; Mary V. Mark, 'The Relationship between Ecology and Myth in Mangaia' (M.A. thesis, Otago University, 1976), chapter 7.

[3] Niel Gunson, 'Polynesian Studies: A Decade of Tahitian History', *Pacific History Bibliography and comment 1982*, 72. Textual analyses of various sorts have been carried out in the Pacific by scholars trained in criticism or biblical studies. E.g. Kendrick Smithyman, 'Making History: John White and S. Percy Smith at Work', *Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS)* 88, 4 (December 1979), 375--413; John Charlot, 'The Application of Form and Redaction Criticism to Hawaiian Literature', *JPS* 86, 4 (December 1977), 479--501; 'The War between the

The term hermeneutics means, in essence, to clarify the unclear and corresponds to interpretation.[5] In biblical studies hermeneutics or interpretation has historically taken the form of a commentary. In this sense it is synonymous with exegesis or exposition.[6] When applied to a text an exegesis can be understood as the 'reading out' of the work's meaning.[7]

Recent biblical scholars have emphasised how this 'reading out' is conditioned by the text's actual language--its 'linguisticality'.[8] For the historian, equipped with his or her own baggage of beliefs and prejudices, this medium of language forces an engagement with

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Gods of 'Upolu and Savai'i': A Samoan Story from 1890', *Journal of Pacific History (JPH)* XXIII, 1 (April 1988), 80--85.

Past and present discussions of Pacific History as a practice include, J.W. Davidson, *The Study of Pacific History An Inaugural Lecture delivered at Canberra on 25 November 1954* (Canberra, 1955); 'Understanding Pacific History: The Participant as Historian'; 'History, Art or Game? A Comment on 'The Purity of Historical Method''; Gavan Daws, 'On Being a Historian of the Pacific'; K.R. Howe, 'The Fate of the 'Savage' in Pacific Historiography'; H.E. Maude, 'Pacific History--Past, Present and Future'; Caroline Ralston, 'Writing Pacific history: The State of the Art'. Full citations are given in the Bibliography.

[4] Southeast Asian History, with its shared Austronesian heritage, might be a profitable field. E.g. A.H. Johns, 'The Turning Image: Myth and Reality in Malay Perceptions of the Past', in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, ed. Anthony Reid and David Marr (Singapore, 1979), 43--67.

[5] James M. Robinson, 'Hermeneutic since Barth', in *New Frontiers in Theology. Discussions among Continental and American Theologians. Vol. II: The New Hermeneutic*, ed. James M. Robinson and John B. Cobb, Jr (New York, 1964), 1.

[6] John H. Hayes and Carl R. Holladay, *Biblical Exegesis: A Beginner's Handbook* (London, 1983), 5; Robinson, 5--6. Some biblical scholars came to distinguish hermenutic as the theory and exegesis as the practice of the art of interpretation. Some scholars still accept this distinction. E.g. 'Exegesis and Hermeneutics, Biblical', in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 8 (1969), 949. Others do not. E.g. Paul Ricoeur, *Essays on Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Lewis S. Mudge (Philadelphia, 1980), 49, 143; Robinson, 5--6.

[7] Hayes and Holladay, 5.

[8] E.g. Gerhard Ebeling, 'Word of God and Hermeneutic', in *The New Hermeneutic*, 93; Hans-Georg Gadamer, 'On the Origins of Philosophical Hermeneutics', in Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Philosophical Apprenticeships*, trans. Robert R. Sullivan (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1985), 179; 'On the Scope and Function of Hermeneutical Reflection', trans. G.B. Hess and R.E. Palmer; 'The Universality of the Hermeneutical Problem', in Gadamer, *Philosophical Hermeneutics*, trans. and ed. David E. Linge (Berkeley, 1976), 3, 18ff; *Truth and Method*, trans. W. Glen-Doepel (London, 1975), 345--66, 415.

the text itself. The two are engaged, as one writer put it, in a 'play of understanding'; both possessing 'horizons' of vision: the interpreter's in the present and the text's in the past.[9] The hermeneutical text retains its own integrity as a work while shaping and being shaped by the historically-aware participant.

For an historian of Mangaia hermeneutics stresses the importance of comprehending the indigenous texts on their own terms and not straitjacketing them within foreign theories or the historian's own interests. The texts should determine the history. The indigenous language too ought to be granted a privileged position in the discourse.

The structural analysis of literary texts originates from Lévi-Straussian structural anthropology.[10] Its practice was adapted by Roland Barthes in the field of semiology--the science of signs. Barthes viewed semiology as 'a bringing into the open of aspects of meaning ignored by orthodox disciplines'.[11] He believed a text was a speech, 'a message which refers to a code', that semiology sought to clarify or unfold.[12] Barthes broke up or segmented a text into its constituent units of reading (also called lexias, speech fragments or material signifiers). This segmentation allowed a reader to elicit the many meanings, or codes as Barthes called them, which a text contained and to connect it with other texts and the wider narrative situation.[13]

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[9] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 129, 269--73; 'On the Problem of Self-understanding', in *Philosophical Hermeneutics*, 53--54, 56--57. A number of other images are suggested by Gadamer including those of the conversation and a dialectic. E.g. *Truth and Method*, 347, 357--58.

[10] E.g. Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'The Structural Study of Myth', in Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, trans. Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grunfest Schoepf (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1968), 206--31; 'The Story of Asdiwal', 'Four Winnebago Myths', in *Structural Anthropology volume 2*, trans. Monique Layton (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1977), 146--97, 198--210; *The Savage Mind* (London, 1966); Edmund Leach, *Lévi-Strauss* (London, 1970).

[11] Jonathon Culler, *Barthes* ([London], 1983), 71.

[12] Roland Barthes, 'The Structural Analysis of Narrative: Apropos of Acts 10--11'; 'The Textual Analysis of a Tale by Edgar Allan Poe', in Roland Barthes, *The Semiotic Challenge*, trans. Richard Howard (Oxford, 1988), 224--25, 264.

[13] Barthes, 'Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives'; 'Wrestling with the Angel: Textual analysis of Genesis 32:23--33'; 'Structural Analysis of Narrative'; 'Edgar Allan Poe', in *The Semiotic Challenge*.

Unlike hermeneutics semiology, according to Barthes, did not tunnel towards a narrative's deep structure:

> It does not seek the secret of the text: for it, all the text's roots are in the air; it does not have to unearth these roots in order to find *the main one.*[14]

A biblical exegete, commenting on Barthes' utterance, more prosaically suggested that whereas hermeneutics was concerned with the depth and intention of a text, structural analysis dealt with the text's surface and pattern.[15] A segmentation of Mangaia's written past may not only expose the varied meanings held within a text but yield up fresh ways of viewing the history which the narratives retell.

The written record of Mangaia's past begins with the compositions by nineteenth century Mangaians. They wrote at the behest of the missionary who did so much to make Mangaian traditions known to the scholarly world, William Wyatt Gill. His principal Mangaian contributors were Mamae, also called Sadaraka or Koroa-iti, and Tereavai, or Te Maru.[16] At the time that Gill knew them Mamae was a respected pastor and Tereavai a deacon at Tamarua in Mangaia.[17] Both men were members of the Ngāti Vara tribe. Mamae was a grandson of Koroa, a former *mangaia*, or temporal ruler--the supreme political ruler of the island--with whom Mamae lived as a child.[18] Tereavai until about

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[14] Barthes, 'Structural Analysis of Narrative', 228; also see 'Edgar Allan Poe', 262.

[15] Alain Blancy, 'Structuralism and Hermeneutics', in *Structuralism and bibBical Hermeneutics*, ed. and trans. Alfred M. Johnson, Jr. (Pennsylvania, 1979), 84.

[16] **G 45**, Note by Gill; **M&S**, xx. Judging from other sources Te Maru appears to have been an alternative name for Tereavai. See Chapter 10 for details.

[17] There are many attestations to Mamae's distinguished position. E.g. **DL**, 367--68; Takamoa Theological College, Rarotonga, List of Students, Entry no. 9; SSL, William Wyatt Gill (WWG), 1 July 1857. He was placed in charge of the church during the absence of the missionary. SSL, WWG, 30 October 1858; SSL, G.A. Harris (GAH), 23 October 1883. Harris described Mamae as his co-adjutor. SSL, GAH, 5 June 1879. Mamae co-signed Mangaian letters to the Directors of the London Missionary Society (LMS). SSL, 29 December 1864; SSL, 3 June 1865. See also SSL, WWG, 5 January 1865. In 1858 Mamae, or Sadaraka, organised the 'king' (Numangatini) and the chiefs 'to exert their authority' to save a ship wrecked at Oneroa. WWG, Letter, *Missionary Magazine and Chronicle (MMC)* (1 July 1859), 193--94. In 1879 he tried to mediate a serious succession dispute following the death of the *ariki*, Numangatini. SSL, GAH, 5 June 1879. Tereavai's career is described in SSL, WWG, 27 April 1865.

[18] **DL**, 318 fn. 1.

1828 or 1829 had been *pi'a atua* (priest) of the Ngāti Vara *atua* (god, deity) Tiaio or Te Aio.[19]

The Ngāti Vara, also known as Te 'Āmama or Ngāti Mautara, were descended from the *pi'a atua* of Motoro, the second-ranking *atua* of Mangaia and the tribal divinity of the island's original settlers, the Ngāriki.[20] For many years the Ngāti Vara ruled the island but shortly before the arrival of Christianity in 1823 they lost power. They remained opposed to the new faith accepted by the ruling tribes and attacked its followers. They were eventually defeated in 1828. Subsequently they were integrated into the victorious Christian community, though a number remained pagan; the last non-Christian only entered the church in 1865.[21]

In 1975 the Cook Islands government under Albert Henry initiated the collection of island traditions from local experts. Henry had long believed in the importance of preserving indigenous traditions for future generations; traditions were to be used to reinforce the distinctive identity of the nation state.[22] The collectors were officials of the Cultural Development Division in the Ministry of Social Services which had been established to undertake this task. Some at least of the officers were native to the island

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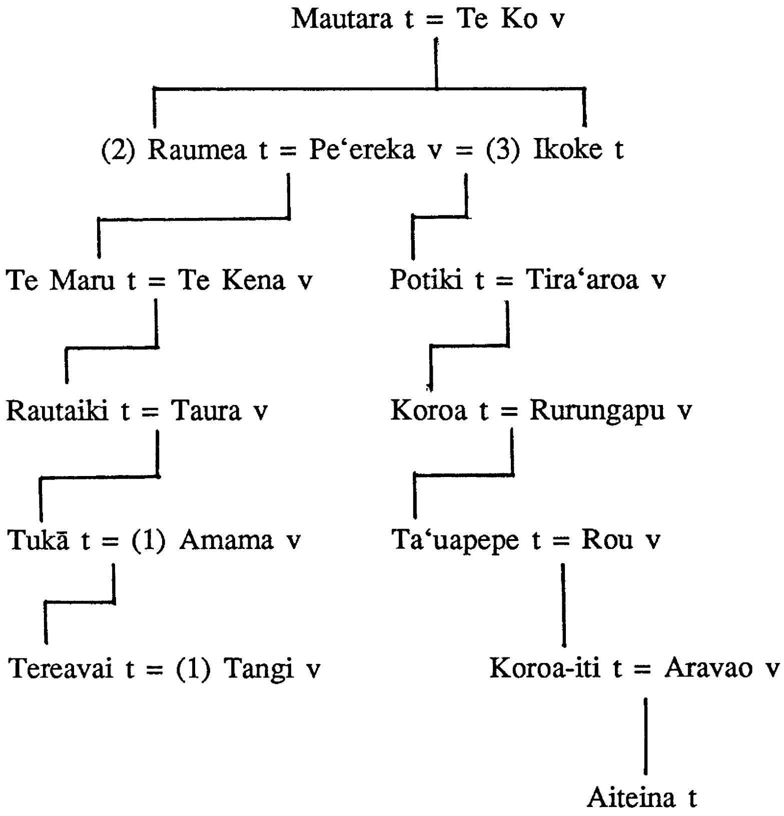
[19] Ibid., 312 fn. 1, 335--36; SSL, WWG, 27 April 1865. See Figure 1 for a genealogy of Mamae and Tereavai.

[20] See Chapter 12 for further details on the Ngāti Vara.

[21] **Life**, 51; **M&S**, 188; SSL, WWG, 8 January 1866; WWG, Letter, *Evangelical Christiandom* (1866), n.p.

[22] See e.g. M. Strickland, 'Self-Government and the New Colonialism', in *Cook Islands Politics: The Inside Story* (Auckland, 1979), 9; Josephine Baddeley, 'Rarotongan Society: The Creation of Tradition' (Ph.D thesis, University of Auckland, micro 80--116, 1978), 419, 444, 446--52; 'Adoption in Rarotonga', *JPS* 91, 1 (March 1982), 122.

Figure 1: Genealogy of Mamae and Tereavai[23]



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[23] **B**, 'Ngati Vara tribe'; W.N. Gunson, Mangaian MS (hereinafter cited as Gunson MS); **MangS**, 27 Table 3. All genealogical figures in this thesis feature certain abbreviations: t = *tane* (man); v = *vaine* (woman); numbers in ( ) before names indicate birth or marriage order. According to a genealogy recorded by Gunson Koroa married Ivitangi.

from which they collected.[24] Material was obtained from recognised *kōrero* or experts in traditional knowledge.[25] The information was tape recorded and later transcribed.[26]

The Mangaian *tumu kōrero* were all members of the politically dominant Ngāti Mana'une and Ngāti Tāne coalition that had wrested power from Ngāti Vara in the nineteenth century. Several were descended from or held traditional high political offices. Two *kōrero*, Tereevangeria Aratangi and Iviiti Aerepo, sister and brother, provided the bulk of the information. Aerepo, who lived at Tamarua, died in 1978.[27] Aratangi, born in April 1922, is a Ngāti Mana'une and is descended from Aitama, also called Arapōkino, Pōkino or Samuel (Samuera), the *toko* (military supporter) of the last *mangaia* Pangemiro.[28]

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[24] Cook Islands Field Diary, 10 May 1988, information from George Paniana, National Archives of the Cook Islands (NACI); Kauraka Kauraka to author, 19 October 1989; information in Mangaian *kōrero* series (MK), NACI; Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 41.

Two of the recorders for Mangaia were identified: Maki Areai, then in his early twenties and presently a Community Development Officer; and Mataora Harry, the present Principal of Mangaia College, who is the son of the late *kavana*, Rape Harry, who died in 1989.

[25] The term *kōrero* is sometimes replaced by *tumu kōrero* or *'are kōrero*. The first term is strictly translated 'the source or foundation of knowledge'; it has been extended to mean the person who imparts the knowledge as well. The second term, *'are kōrero*, simply refers to the building in which the traditions are told. Savage, 116.

[26] It should be pointed out that these transcripts contain a number of faulty readings presumably due to the difficulties encountered in typing texts from the spoken word. The typescripts also do not mark long vowels or glottal stops.

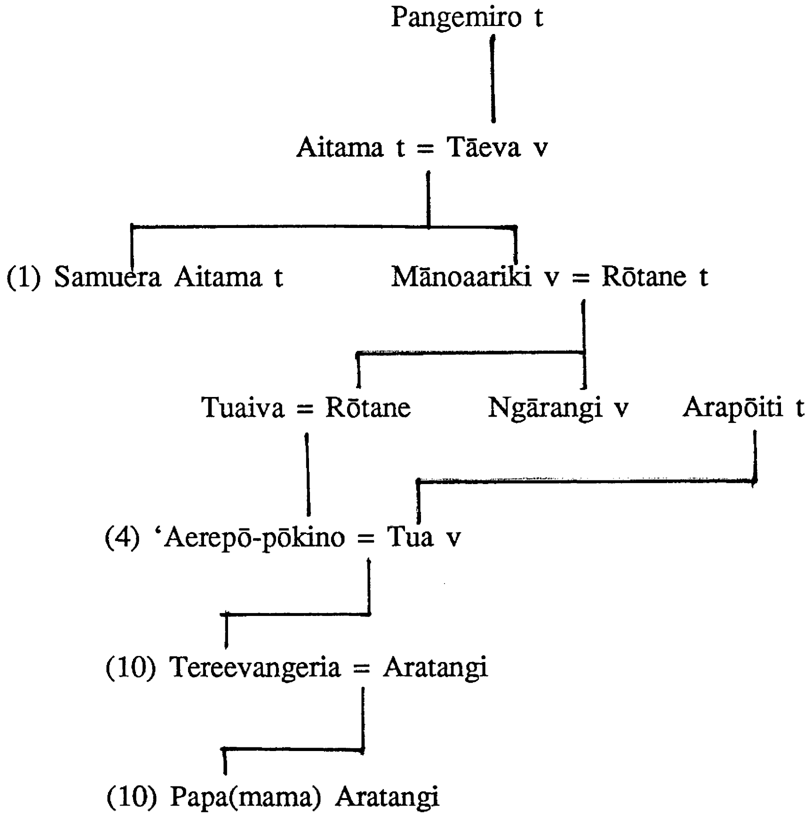
[27] Papa Aratangi to author, 21 March 1989. Since this letter was written in English I cannot be more specific as to what 'brother' signified; no genealogy was supplied.

[28] Cook Islands Notebook No. 1, information from Tereevangelia Aratangi, 28 April 1988, translated by Īana Ta'ua'i, a Mangaian student at the Takamoa Theological College, Rarotonga.

See Figure 2 for a genealogy of Aratangi.

Te Rangi Hiroa described Pōkino as 'te toko o te mangaia' ('the support of the *mangaia*'), MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 3.4, Cook Islands Field Notes iv, p. 51, BPBML.

Figure 2: Genealogy of Tereevangeria Aratangi[29]



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[29] Cook Islands Notebook No. 1. Information from Tereevangeria Aratangi, translated by Īana Ta'ua'i.

Aratangi made clear her reasons for telling Mangaian traditions: she feared that the past and its values were not being transmitted to the young.[30] The ancestors had known the traditions about the land, tribes and the good news. She spoke of them as cherishing ('akaperepere') Christianity, having forsaken their own gods to worship the Christian one. She contrasted such enthusiasm with the present where Christianity had grown enfeebled ('ei tupuanga paruparu'), diminutive ('aka mea ngiti') and become a plaything ('ei mea kanga').[31] She called on the elders to come forward in a spirit of cooperation to provide information for the government's recording project so that the young would not become ignorant ('neneva'), or have their lands taken by other tribes ('iti tangata ke'). The task for her was not the disinterested retelling for some collector's benefit but a collaborative project aimed at avoiding what she imagined was otherwise inevitable, the loss of Mangaia's traditional knowledge amongst the young. This loss was intimately connected to the maintenance of all that made their life worthwhile: peace and equitable social relationships.

Her concerns are at least in part a response to contemporary social concerns. Since the 1936 census the Cook Island population has suffered from increasing emigration while the proportion of the population under the age of 15 has steadily increased.[32] One of the results of these changes in Mangaia was the perceived decline of traditional knowledge amongst the younger landowners by the late 1960s. The fear was expressed that they might be forced from their land by higher ranking families who possessed such knowledge.[33]

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[30] **MK**, Tereevangeria Aratangi, 'Tuanga Rua: To tatou oraanga i teia tuatau nei e ta tatou angaanga e rave nei'. Aratangi made similar points in several other pieces. See **MK**, 'Te Mateanga o Kokiri', 'Te Rauka anga mai o teia ingoa Ngatoki', 'Te Paopao'.

A similar view of the problems of the past and the present can be found elsewhere in the Pacific. See Robert Borofsky, *Making history: Pukapukan and Anthropological Constructions of Knowledge* (Cambridge, 1987), 97; Robert I. Levy, *Tahitians: Mind and Experience in the Society Islands* (Chicago, 1973), 50; Klaus Neumann, 'Not the Way It Really Was: Constructing the Tolai Past' (Ph.D thesis, Australian National University, 1988), 57--58. Of course to some degree such feelings of temporal and generational differences are universally shared.

[31] In Rurutu an even more unfavourable situation has occurred where young people actively despise the traditional knowledge, rejecting it in favour of a westernised urban lifestyle. Alain Babadzan, 'From Oral to Written: The *Puta Tupuna* of Rurutu', in *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*, Polynesian Society Memoir no. 45, ed. Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman (Auckland, 1985), 188--89.

[32] In 1956 the proportion of the population under 15 for the Lower Group excluding Rarotonga (i.e. including Mangaia) was 50%; in 1966 the figure calculated for Mangaia had risen to 57%. McArthur, 199, 208; Bryant James Allen, 'The Development of Commercial Agriculture on Mangaia: Social and Economic Change in a Polynesian Community' (M.A. thesis, Massey University (N.Z.), 1969), 43. The imbalance continues to be a major problem today.

Both the nineteenth century writers and the modern *tumu kōrero* adopted a similar attitude to the telling of traditions. Mamae and his associates wrote stories about the triumphs and follies of past chiefs and tribes without noticeable bias.[34] Mamae recounted the succession of the different *mangaia* in a non-partisan way.[35] Similarly, Aratangi portrayed the important Ngāti Vara ancestor, Mautara, in a sympathetic light and described the Ngāriki as a great tribe in earlier times.[36]

Alongside such praise the Mangaians boosted their own tribes. Mamae praised the martial prowess of his ancestor Ikoke; no-one else in Mangaia could hold up his spear, Te

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[33] Allen, 53.

[34] E.g. the two narrations of the military challenge to Ngauta, the *mangaia* of the day, by Arepe'e, a leading chief, which involved sections of the Tonga'iti. **Mi 131, 132**, 'Te Pee taau i kite ia Mataiti ra'; 'Te Tuatua ia Arepee'. See Appendix C for the texts of this challenge. The form of the tribal name Tonga'iti [i.e. Tongahiti] used in this thesis is not accepted by all published histories of Mangaia. Gill preferred 'Tongaiti' which he translated as 'little' Tongans. See **DL**, 150. However Te Rangi Hiroa uses the former variant when quoting indigenous texts in **MangS**. Gudgeon, a former colonial administrator in the Cook Islands, also noted the tribe as Tongahiti. See note in *JPS* 34 (1925), 386.

[35] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[36] **MK**, Tereevangeria Aratangi, 'Te Purukianga a Mautara e Raei e tona Pupu'; 'Te Umu Tangata Mua i runga ia Auau Enua'.

Ure Marō (The Seasoned Penis).[37] Aratangi spoke of the parents of her tribe's eponymous ancestor, Mana'une, as founding the people of their district in Mangaia. The existence of the previous occupants was barely acknowledged.[38] Maarona Okirua, another modern *kōrero* and a *kavana* (district chief), stressed the ascendancy of his tribe, the Ngāti Mana'une, over their junior coalition partners, the Ngāti Tāne.[39]

All the Mangaian storytellers shared the same polarising view of the island's history, dividing it between the old times of the heathen ancestors dwelling in darkness and the new age resulting from Christianity, peace and light.[40] Mamae, in a story about stars, entitled the account:

> *E tuatua taito teia na te ai tupuna, no to ratou kite kore e, na Iehova i anga i te pa etu no te rangi*
>
> This is an old story by the ancestors, they did not know that Jehovah made the stars in the sky.[41]

He ended the story: 'Ko te puka amo teia a te etene matapo' ('This is a *puka amo* of the blind heathen').[42] A number of prominent nineteenth century Mangaians, including the *ariki*

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[37] M. The transcription of Mamae's manuscript lengthens the *o* in *marō*. However since the marking of lengthened vowels is notoriously fickle in Polynesian languages at this period it may also refer to *maro* (the male's loin cloth). This last possibility receives some confirmation in the text (and incidentally shows the close association of a man's penis to the martial virtues of a warrior):

> *Kua tatara a Ikoke i tona maro, e kua akaten[i] i taua rakau, koia oki, tona ure, ei rakau tamaki*
>
> Ikoke untied his *maro* and extolled that weapon, that is also, his penis, as a fighting weapon.

The reference to the length of a spear seems to be a common motif in Mangaian tradition showing the warrior's strength and by implication his fearsomeness. Gill records several such references to the spears of famous warriors whose spears measured on average 7.3 m (24 feet), and in one case as long as 9.15 m (30 feet). **DL**, 368 fn. 1, also see 97, 112, 185. Some illustration and discussion of Cook Island spears in Te Rangi Hiroa, *Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands*, BPBMB 179 (Honolulu, 1944), 298--300.

[38] **MK**, Tereevangeria Aratangi, 'Te Kapuaanga o te Iti Tangata i te Puna Karanga'.

[39] **MK**, Maarona Okirua, 'Te Tua ite Tamakianga a Te Matangi'.

[40] The historicity of this theme has been the subject of some debate. The evidence for the early existence of this contrast in Mangaia is discussed in Appendix A.

[41] **G 45**, [Mamae], 'Eneene'.

[42] Ibid. The 'puka amo' is probably a literary category. *Puka* = 'story'. Savage, 275.

Numangatini, were quoted by Gill contrasting the violent, fear-ridden times of the ancestors to the tranquility wrought by Christianity.[43] Similar negative attitudes towards the pre-Christian past persist to the present day.[44] Co-existing with such negative views in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is a more favourable one which accepts the ancestors as knowledgable and brave, who, though heathens, ought to be viewed sympathetically.[45] Associated with this more positive view is a belief that Mangaians before Christianity were physically more imposing than their descendants today.[46]

Mamae, his associates, and the more recent *kōrero* used similar literary devices to construct their historical narratives.[47] A crucial device in such writing was the opening and ending of the narration.[48] One form of opening device was the outlining of a story or its main characters. These could be as simple as explaining the genealogical significance of the character or the historical situation in which the story was about to unfold.[49]

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[43] E.g. **Life**, 43, 148f; **Jottings**, 59, 107, 239.

[44] One example will suffice to illustrate this continuity. A New Zealand born Mangaian related to the author how he had attended a church service (admittedly on another island) with his hair in a topknot, and wearing ear ornaments and a *tiki* around his neck. Some members of the congregation reacted as if they had just seen one of their heathen ancestors in the flesh. Cook Islands Field Diary, 1 May 1988.

[45] **Mi 131, 132**, Mamae, no title, first line: 'Te Pee taau i kite ia Mataiti ra'. See Appendix C for the full text. **MK**, Iviiti Aerepo, 'Te Vaka Teretere o te ui Tupuna na te Moana'; Tereevangeria Aratangi, 'Te Umu Tangata Mua i runga ia Auau Enua'. Texts which show how such attitudes influenced historical narratives in, **MK**, Iviiti Aerepo, 'Nga Ingoa e Rua, Auau Mangaia'; 'Te Marae Korero'.

The case of the New Zealand born Mangaian again illustrates this dichotomy. Whereas worshippers at one church service reacted badly to his wearing a topknot a younger *'ui rangatira*, on another occasion, is reported to have pulled the man's cap off and encouraged him to let his hair down like their ancestors did. Cook Islands Field Diary, 1 May 1988.

[46] Some people reckoned the ancestors measured 9 or 30 feet in height (2.7 m and 9.1 m respectively). Mangaians believe that the first missionaries were intimidated by the Islanders' size. Cook Islands Field Diary, 1 May 1988; Cook Islands Field Notebook No. 1, information from Tereevangeria Aratangi.

Similarly ambivalent attitudes towards ancestors have been detected recently in the traditional literature of a culturally similar island, Rurutu, in French Polynesia. Babadzan, 183. Similar sorts of views are expressed by Tahitians. See Levy, 219.

[47] The following observations are based upon a reading of the **MK** series and the assorted nineteenth century prose stories especially in **G 45**; **Mi 131, 132**; and more especially in the major Mamae texts: **M**; **B**; SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[48] These elements have also been long important in the art of rhetoric. Roland Barthes, 'The Old Rhetoric: An Aide-mémoire', in *The Semiotic Challenge*, 77--80.

The endings were more diverse. The simplest device was to announce the end. Another common technique was to recapitulate the story. Alternatively, an account could be ended with an explanation of the text; a technique commonly employed in the nineteenth century and one that Gill himself imitated in his own retellings.

A feature very much in evidence amongst the 1975 narratives was the shifts of persons. These reveal the Mangaian attitudes to their texts as historical narrations. When describing various incidents and ancestors the characteristic voice of the *kōrero* was the historical and apersonal third person: the history is past, at a remove from the teller, who accentuates this space-time distinction by adopting a disembodied voice.[50]

However, other tenses and persons were also interposed. Narrations often, and suddenly, shifted from the apersonal pronouns to the personal I/you, thus involving the recorder or auditor, an audience (and of course the present reader).[51] In Mangaian, as in other Polynesian languages, this incorporation is betrayed by the use of the plural pronoun *tatou* (you and I). The contrasted space in time represented between the ancestors in the apersonal plural pronoun *ratou* and the people today (*tatou*) is never more obvious.[52]

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[49] E.g. MK, Tereevangeria Aratangi, 'Te Tua i te Matenga o Te Uanuku': 'O Te-[uanuku] e tamaiti na Mautara o te Mautara tamaiti mua teia' ('Te Uanuku was a son of Mautara, (he was) Mautara's first born son').
MK, Iviiti Aerepo, 'E tuatua no Oimara':

> *I te purukianga i rave ia i Pukuotoi i te puna Tamarua, e purukianga teia i rotopu ia Teuanuku ete kopu o Ruanae*
>
> The battle was fought at Pukuotoi in the Tamarua *puna*, this was a battle between Te Uanuku and the tribe of Ruanae.

A more elaborate device of this kind is found in New Zealand Maori writings which though presented in a written form by their Maori authors were heavily influenced by oratorical techniques. One critic, informed by classical criticism, has described the device as 'apposition' where the writer first tells the beginning and ending of a story then follows this with a detailing of the actual story sequence. Agathe Thornton, 'Two Features of Oral Style in Maori Narrative', *JPS*, 94, 2 (June 1985), 156-57. Another scholar uses the term '"flash-back"' instead of apposition. See Jenifer Curnow, 'Wiremu Maihi Te Rangi Kaheke: His Life and Work', *JPS*, 94, 2 (June 1985), 129.

[50] Story-tellers in Rurutu adopted the same form of '"distancing"' technique when writing of the *etene* (pagans). Babadzan, 181.

Discussions of traditional grammatical terms such as voice in Guy Rosolato, 'The Voice and the Literary Myth' and Roland Barthes, 'To Write: An Intransitive Verb?', in *The Structuralist Controversy*, ed. Richard Macksey and Eugenio Donato (Baltimore, 1972), 137, 139, 142, 201ff. For an analysis of the textual techniques used by historians see Roland Barthes, 'Historical Discourse', in Michael Lane, ed. *Structuralism: A Reader* (London, 1970), 148--49.

Besides giving a vividness and immediacy to the narration, the rapid shifting of persons maintains, as Barthes pointed out, the author's narrative control and encourages a confusion between the apersonal and personal utterance of the discourse.[53] Such forms of history do not allow the reader or the Mangaian audience that sense of detachment common to much western history writing, but thrust them willy-nilly into the actions and situations of the stories themselves.

The nineteenth century missionary collector, William Wyatt Gill, obtained his first view of Mangaia on 1 March 1852. Writing ten days later he already showed an interest in local traditions, quoting a proverb in English.[54] Gill, a graduate of the University of London, was a member of a new generation of London Missionary Society (LMS) missionaries in the South Pacific.[55] He served on Mangaia almost continuously from 1852 to 1872, first at Tamarua and later, from 1857, at Oneroa as the sole European missionary.[56] His association with Mamae and Tereavai would have begun on first arrival as Mamae was the 'native teacher' at Tamarua from 1848 to 1853. He was later Gill's assistant at Oneroa.[57] The two men enjoyed a close friendship which doubtless encouraged Mamae to record Mangaian traditions.[58]

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[51] E.g. MK, Iviiti Aerepo, 'Te Akavareanga i te U a te Tamariki e te Akamatau anga a te Kai i te Manga'; 'E Tua teia no Oimara'; Tereevangeria Aratangi, 'Te Tua i te Vaarua ia to Ruapuru e te Vaarua o te Ngariki i Okivaa'; 'Te Paopao'; 'Te Tua ia Vari Mango'; 'Te Mana o te au Atua o to tatou ui Tupuna'.

[52] The same '"theirs"'/'"ours"' contrast is noticed by Babadzan in the Rurutuan written texts, 181.

[53] Barthes, 'To Write: An Intransitive Verb?', 139--40.

[54] SSL, WWG, 10 March 1852.

[55] Niel Gunson, *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797--1860* (Melbourne, 1978), 41--42. Biographical information on Gill in Gunson, 'Gill, William Wyatt', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* vol. 4 1851--1890 (Melbourne, 1972), 249. His early life is detailed in his application to a theological college and to the LMS. WWG, Application, New College, Archives of Highbury Applications, Dr Williams Library; WWG, Candidates Papers; WWG, Candidates Answers.

[56] SSL, WWG, 10 March 1852; George Gill, 30 April 1852; WWG, 21 April 1857.

Gill's interest in indigenous traditions had been shared by earlier LMS missionaries. He was probably familiar with their published ethnographic works before arriving in Mangaia.[59] By the early 1860s he was purchasing ethnographies and historical works.[60] A few years later he was enquiring after ethnographic information.[61] While on furlough during the mid-1870s he read papers at the Anthropological Institute, the British Association for the Advancement of Science and the Royal Geographical Society, probably with the encouragement of scholars such as F. Max Müller.[62] His contributions were well received.[63]

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[57] [George Gill], 'General and Miscellaneous Memoranda respecting the Mission at Mangaia', Polynesian Society (PS) MS Papers 1187, folder 61, National Library of New Zealand (NLNZ), Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL); SSL, WWG, 6 January 1854; 30 October 1858; 21 October 1867; Sadaraka and others, 29 December 1864. Sadaraka's letter was later published in *Missionary Magazine and Chronicle* 1 July 1865, 215--16.

[58] **DL**, 367--68; **G 45**, WWG, note, 20 May 1891; WWG to Sir George Grey, 26 May 1891, GL 488, Auckland Public Library (AP); **Mi 131, 132**, Mamaerua to [WWG], 18 Mati (March) 1881.

[59] E.g. **M&S**, 33; WWG, Candidates Answers; Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 210--14, 318. In SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book', there are a series of notes from the publications of William Ellis and others. These may have been written around 1870.

[60] E.g. SSL, WWG, 4 October 1861.

[61] E.g. **Mi 131, 132**, Tinomana to WWG, 30 May 1869; G.S. Platt to WWG, 5 November 1869; SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book', G.S. Platt to WWG, 10 May 1871; W.J. Lawes to WWG, 1870.

[62] W.N. Gunson, 'Victorian Christianity in the South Seas: A Survey', *Journal of Religious History* 8, 2 (December 1974), 191--93; 'Gill, William Wyatt', 249; F. Max Müller, Preface to William Wyatt Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific* (London, 1876), v--xviii. Gill's contributions to these learned societies are listed in Section C of the Bibliography, with some of the reported reactions. See also fn. 63 below.

[63] E.g. F.W. Rudler, 'Report on the Department of Anthropology, at the Bradford Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1873', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (JAI)* 3 (1874), 334; The Right Hon. Sir H. Bartle Frere, 'Address to the Royal Geographical Society', *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 34 (1874), clxxxix.

Rudler reported that Gill exhibited examples of the bones he had obtained from Mangaian burial caves and a collection of stone implements and 'other objects of ethnological significance'. The whole was described by Rudler as 'highly interesting'. Rudler was the Department's Secretary. Gill's contribution was published under the title: 'Notes on Coral-Caves with Human Bones in Stalagmite on Mangaia, South Pacific'. See Section C of the Bibliography.

Frere described Gill's contribution as an 'interesting account', and added, 'Mr Gill was fortunate enough to see the natives of both races on different parts of the coast, and to ascertain, by inquiries of the resident missionaries, the line of separation between them, which on the south coast is the Manumanu River'. Frere was President of the Royal Geographical Society. Gill's

Gill's ethnographic and scientific interests blossomed with the passing years.[64] He continued purchasing anthropological and historical works.[65] He again met Max Müller and apparently E.B. Tylor while in England preparing a new edition of the Cook Islands Bible.[66] He collected traditions while serving in Rarotonga between 1877 and 1883; compiled a short vocabulary of Rarotongan; later contributed papers to the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, of which he was a founder, and to the Polynesian Society; and corresponded with Polynesianists on ethnographic matters.[67]

Despite his scholarly leanings Gill remained true to his evangelical origins. Writing shortly before his retirement from the missions in 1882 about a visit to Pukapuka he reported,

> three or four persons buried without any religious service whatever, because the friends had insisted on going through the ancient heathen dirges, beginning as soon as breath is extinct and continued without a moment's intermission until the corpse is laid in the tomb. Hand and feet are meantime in perpetual motion, the tones of

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article was 'Three Visits to New Guinea'. See Section C of the Bibliography.

Colonel A. Lane Fox in his Annual Address as President of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland for 1876 referred to the differences of opinion between Wallace, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and Gill regarding the origins of Pacific Islanders. He used this difference to argue for the need to collect more reliable data, especially in the departments of descriptive ethnology and physical anthropology. Colonel A. Lane Fox, 'President's Annual Address', *JAI* VI (1877), 490. Gill's critique of Wallace was published as 'On the Origin of the South-Sea Islanders'. See Section C of the Bibliography for a more detailed description of its contents.

A more general assessment of Gill's writings in an obituary note by E.W. Brabrook, President of the Anthropological Institute, 'Anniversary Address', *JAI* XXVI (1897), 426.

[64] E.g. WWG corresponded with J.D. Hooker of Kew Gardens concerning local island flora. See WWG, 'New Guinea Revisited', *Sunday Magazine (SM)* (1872), 769 fn.

[65] SSL, WWG, 28 August 1878; 19, 28 July 1882; 27 July 1883.

[66] WWG to William Rolleston, 10 October 1888, Archives of the Governor-General, G 11/1, 6, National Archives of New Zealand; WWG, Bible Society Correspondence Inwards, Bible Society's Library, Cambridge University Library. The initial proposal of WWG to prepare the Bible in SSL, WWG, 20 September 1881.

[67] E.g. WWG, 'Correspondence, Legends, Rarotongan', PS 1187/ 57, NLNZ, ATL; 'Genealogy of the Kings of the Hervey Islands', GNZMSS 120, AP; 'Rarotonga MSS', PS 1187/ 60--63, NLNZ, ATL; 'Rarotonga Notes, Songs, Stars, Stories [and] Letters', PS 1187/ 59 (**Micro 131, 132**), NLNZ, ATL; Papeiha, 'E Tuatua no te Taeanga mai o te Tuatua na te Atua ki Rarotonga nei' ('An Account of the arrival of God's Word to Rarotonga'), PS 1187/ 111, NLNZ, ATL; WWG, 'Vocabulary of the Rarotongan Dialect', William Wyatt Gill Papers, MMC, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; various letters between WWG and S. Percy Smith in PS Acc 80--115 Box 2 and PS 1187/ 145, NLNZ, ATL; WWG to C.H. Read, 1893, MS Papers 1265 William Wyatt Gill Collection, NLNZ, ATL; Gunson, 'Victorian Christianity', 193.

> voice are affecting in the extreme, and tears are abundantly shed. It is a most interesting, but utterly heathen ceremony. It was high time to attempt to check it.[68]

Gill's publications encompassed many forms. His earliest compositions included articles on natural history and pre-contact Mangaian culture published in English evangelical periodicals.[69] These pieces--largely unamended--formed the basis for much of his later ethnographic writing.[70]

Gill's compositions reveal a series of authorial intentions and narrational techniques.[71] Gill believed that he represented the stories 'as the natives give them, without improvement or elimination'.[72] Like all Pacific ethnographers he claimed that he was motivated to record the traditions, 'as the correct knowledge of the past is rapidly fading away, and will probably soon become extinct'.[73] But despite the disinterested claims of scholarship Gill's voice is found throughout the traditional texts.

Two interconnected themes in Gill's writings are the contrasts he draws between the Mangaian before and after the impact of Christianity and the transformation of the savage heathen into a civilised Christian.[74] Gill's choice of language to depict the past highlighted the Mangaians' heathen savagery. Their deities were 'evil', demons or devils; the people were cruel, unforgiving, covetous, deceitful, wanton or extravagent; fights were 'violent'; men 'miserably perished'; priests were grasping or jealous of their position. In the last case Gill may have been influenced by personal attitudes; he expresses similar views towards Catholicism and Anglo-Catholics.[75] Even punctuation served a pious purpose, being used throughout Gill's ethnographic writings to highlight perceived barbarities or the positive benefits wrought by Christianity.

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[68] 'Voyage through the Outstations of the Hervey Group', SSL, WWG, 27 July 1883. Judging from the editorial changes this portion of the report not surprisingly was excised from the published version. The published article has not been located.

[69] See examples in Section C of the Bibliography.

[70] Gill's two popular ethnographies were entirely derived from the periodical articles: *Life in the Southern Isles; or, Scenes and Incidents in the South Pacific and New Guinea* (London, [1876]), cited as **Life**; *Jottings from the Pacific* ([London], 1885), cited as **Jottings**. A review of this last work was published in *The Chronicle of the LMS* (January 1886), 53. A third and more significant ethnographic work was also partially derived from these periodical articles, *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia with Illustrative Clan Songs* (London, 1894; reprint ed., [Fiji], 1984), cited as **DL**. This work was originally published as *Historical Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia; with Illustrative Clan Songs* (Wellington [N.Z.], 1880). Gill's other important scholarly work was *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, preface by F. Max Müller (London, 1876), cited as **M&S**.

[71] The following survey is based upon a reading of Gill's two principal works: **DL** and **M&S**.

[72] **DL**, 7--8. This assertion is echoed in **M&S**, [xix].

[73] **DL**, 9.

[74] E.g. Ibid., 190--91, 382--83. The same issue is addressed in Gill's preface to ibid., 9.

Intrusions of the missionary's voice were sometimes explicit. The depiction of sexual activity in traditions underwent a polite transformation.[76] As Antony Alpers observed, the missionary writers were the 'outright romanticists with regard to Polynesian love'.[77] More complex was the portrayal of women. On the one hand pre-contact women were loyal, devoted wives and mothers: 'heroic', 'brave', and 'noble-hearted'. On the other hand certain women were dangerous such as female cannibals and the ugly 'hag' of 'Avaiki, Miru.[78]

The transformatory theme was supplemented by the temporal positioning of historical narratives within a European evolutionary model: the heathen was represented as an illiterate and undeveloped barbarian in contrast to the literate and technologically advanced Christian.[79] (A similar if kinder contrast was adopted in the stories told by the Mangaian *kōrero*.) The contrast between the heathen past and the Christian present was marked in Gill's texts by a series of narrational techniques.

One involved the arrangement of the texts. Each narrative was divided into a series of openings where Gill inserted personal reminscences; explanations of the context in which he heard the story; other ethnographic details; or the date of the event, calculated according to European calendrical time or by linkage with other Mangaian historical figures. The endings or closures of the narration enabled Gill to relate sequels, make connections to the nineteenth century present, add moral condemnations, or ethnographic material.

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[75] Cf. WWG, Note in 'Varieties', *Leisure Hour*, 1876, 495 to **DL**, 106, 143; **M&S**, 35--36. Other critical comments of Catholic clergy in **Life**, 348--49. Also see WWG, 'French Aggression in Polynesia', *New Zealand Herald* (10 December 1881).

[76] E.g. **M&S**, 118.

[77] *Legends of the South Seas* (London, 1970), 34--35.

[78] **DL**, 296--304, 218--20; **M&S**, 161--65.

[79] E.g. **DL**, 8--9. A European time frame is used in various narratives, e.g. ibid., 115, 296--304; **M&S**, 81--87, 282--83.

The stories bounded by the openings and closures heightened the contrast between the past and present of Mangaia, threading between the times of the heathen and the transformed Christian. The pre-contact past was further divided up into periods of tribal dominance while the Christian time sometimes distinguished between the period when the story was first related and the date of its publication. Such textual structurings controlled a reader's understanding of the work and introduced a double threaded sense of history, weaving between the story and the historian's perspective.[80]

The Mangaians who contributed to Gill's ethnographies were not always clearly acknowledged in the texts. Some informants were named in the prefaces. A few were identified in their narratives. However, most were introduced anonymously, apparently for literary effect. These informants were sometimes permitted to speak directly to the reader but only to make short comments about their lives as reformed Christians, to assert their ownership of the story, or to utter a proverb. Such acknowledgements enable a reader to catch a glimpse of Gill's collecting method; he listened to local people relating stories associated with particular locations.[81] However most informants were only vaguely alluded to, becoming an 'under-texture' in their own story,[82] represented by such phrases as 'it is asserted', 'they are believed', 'they are known', or 'it was fabled'. The use of the third person, the 'non-person' in Rosolato's apt phrase,[83] is favoured in historical discourse.[84]

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[80] Barthes, 'Historical Discourse', 147--48.

[81] E.g. **DL**, 79--80. Other early examples of his collecting techniques in WWG, Letter: 'The Days of Darkness', *Juvenile Missionary Magazine (JMM)* (1 October 1856), 269--71; Letter, *MMC* (? 1858), n.p.

[82] The term is used by Gerald Monsman, *Walter Pater's Art of Autobiography* (New Haven, 1980), 78.

Te Rangi Hiroa, or Sir Peter Buck, a New Zealand Maori physician-cum-anthropologist, extended Gill's studies as part of the Bishop Museum survey of Polynesian culture during the interwar period.[85] Te Rangi Hiroa lived on Mangaia over the southern summer of 1929 to 1930; he acted as the resident colonial official and doctor, using the positions to elicit ethnographic information.[86] These special features of his fieldwork form part of the text's authorial voice.[87]

Te Rangi Hiroa's consciousness of his Maori identity played an important part in his anthropological work. His 'Polynesian corpuscles', as he phrased it, permitted a special insight and understanding of Polynesia not open to outsiders.[88] He criticised 'even conscientious' missionaries whose 'lack of perspective and practical knowledge in sin' led them to change indigenous culture.[89] Te Rangi Hiroa reflected such a view in his authorial stance, textually positioning himself above Gill's authority which he variously accepted, criticised or rejected.[90] The lessening of the missionaries' ethnographical authority was part of a wider attempt by anthropologists to strengthen their professional credentials.[91]

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[83] 'The Voice and the Literary Myth', 203.

[84] Barthes, 'Historical Discourse', 148--49.

[85] This survey was the result of discussions at the first Pan-Pacific Scientific Conference in 1920. See *Proceedings of the First Pan-Pacific Scientific Conference under the Auspices of the Pan-Pacific Union Honolulu, Hawaii August 2 to 20, 1920*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication Number 7, Part I, 1921 (Honolulu, 1921), iii, 27--30, 49--52, 103--23. A review of the Museum's work in Ernest Beaglehole, 'Polynesian Anthropology Today', *American Anthropologist* n.s., 39 (1937), 213--21.

[86] **MangS**, 3; J.B. Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa: The Life of Sir Peter Buck* (Christchurch, 1971), 164. The *'ui rangatira* Pōkino Aperahama remembers meeting Te Rangi Hiroa as an adolescent; Aperahama described Te Rangi Hiroa as 'very clever' (a term he also used of the Mangaian ancestors before the arrival of Christianity). Cook Islands Field Diary, 27 April 1988.

[87] E.g. **MangS**, 85, 150, 174.

[88] M.P.K. Sorrenson, ed., *Na To Hoa Aroha: From Your Dear Friend: The Correspondence between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck 1925--50*, 3 vols. (Auckland, 1986--88), I, 45. Te Rangi Hiroa expressed his scepticism concerning the work of European scholars in a number of his letters. E.g. ibid., I, 121--22, 132--33, 144--45; II, 2, 76--77, 245--46; III, 124, 126. See also Sorrenson, 'Polynesian Corpuscles and Pacific Anthropology: The Home-made Anthropology of Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck', *JPS* 91, 1 (March 1982), 7--27.

[89] Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, II, 132.

Te Rangi Hiroa's insider status allowed him to assume a superior role for his Maori dimension. He believed that the Maori were 'the highest branch of the Polynesian race',[92] a view which led him to make condescending remarks about Samoans and Hawaiians.[93] Such remarks appear to have resulted from his Olympian position in Hawaii where he came to be regarded as 'the Great Chief of all Polynesia'.[94] He admitted using his Maori background 'against which to throw the kindred material of other branches of the race'.[95] As a consequence of such attitudes the Mangaian in Te Rangi Hiroa's writings is portrayed as a 'species' of a genus Polynesian.[96] Generalised statements are presented about Mangaian cultural practices.[97] The information from Mangaian authorities is criticised and commented upon.[98] He doubted whether the early Mangaian traditional experts had a 'high scholastic attainment'.[99] He considered Mangaians to be recent and lowborn migrants who concocted a more illustrious history of themselves.[100]

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[90] E.g. **MangS**, passim.

[91] Nicholas Thomas, *Out of Time: History and Evolution in Anthropological Discourse*, Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 67 (Cambridge, 1989), chapters 2, 6. A good example of this marginalisation of missionary authority in Mangaian studies was the total exclusion of Gill's writings from the debate carried on in the pages of the *American Anthropologist* during the early 1960s concerning definitions of the Mangaian *kopu* (tribe). See W. Davenport, 'Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist (AA)* 61 (1959); E. Leach, 'A Note on the Mangaian *Kopu* with Special Reference to the Concept of "Nonunilineal Descent"', *AA* 64 (1962); H.W. Scheffler, 'A Further Note on the Mangaian *Kopu*', *AA* 65 (1963); E.R. Leach, 'Comment on Scheffler's Note on the Mangaian *Kopu*', *AA* 66 (1964).

[92] Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, I, 48.

[93] E.g. ibid., I, 73--74, 78--80, 135, 144, 262; II, 136, 209, 244.

[94] Katherine Luomala, 'Necrology, Peter Henry Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa)', *Report of the Director for 1951*, BPBMB 208 in Condliffe, 217.

[95] Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, II, 73.

[96] E.g. **MangS**, 91--92. To some extent this synthesised picture of the genus 'Polynesian' and its species 'Mangaian' resembles the image of the 'Oriental', with some of the same gross characterisations, but without the ethnocentric bite found in some of the Orientalists' prose. See e.g. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1985 [1978]). However, unlike the Orientalists, Te Rangi Hiroa's depiction of 'Polynesia' was not part of a Western political hegemony, rather, it was seeking the core of the island cultures as part of a discourse *against* the European albeit with Western inspired intellectual colours. A neat illustration of this last point is found in Te Rangi Hiroa's annotations to a copy of the Field Museum's *Guide to Ethnology of Polynesia and Micronesia* (by Ralph Linton, 1926). He changes statements referring to the Cook Islands to specify the particular island in the group. E.g. MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 8.4, BPBML. He was not, it seems, interested in too sweeping and inaccurate a generalisation, at least in relation to material culture.

[97] E.g. **MangS**, 97.

Te Rangi Hiroa's reactions to Gill and the Mangaians can be ascribed to his own intellectual and emotional situation. He admitted to having 'an insatiable curiosity as regards technical processes'.[101] He considered technical description 'a scientific foundation' for understanding 'the functioning of human society in solving the various problems of every day life' both historically and in contemporary Polynesian settings.[102] Though he seems to have been interested in aspects of contemporary anthropology he remained committed to his empirical studies of material culture and suspicious of Pakeha (European) anthropologists who put things 'into a pakeha series of bottles with appropriate pakeha labels'.[103]

The Mangaian study was also informed by Te Rangi Hiroa's emotional reactions to the changes wrought in the indigenous society since contact. He criticised the effects of Christianity in Mangaia.

> The Mangaians exchanged one set of taboos for another, and in the process lost a certain amount of their individuality, self respect, and pride of race. To make up for the inferiority associated with the past, they carried their zeal to excess in the new culture and became tyrants in the cause of the new religion. The new religion dominated the thoughts and activities of the people to a greater extent than the old religion ever had in days gone by. Dart casting, the dance, and the drama had been abandoned or suppressed. Much of the spare time available was devoted to religious instruction and religious exercises. Religion thus occupied much more of the waking

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[98] E.g. ibid., 15, 18, 25, 32ff., 38, 76--78, 126--29, 155, 200.

[99] Ibid., 30.

[100] Ibid., 28--30. Cf. Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, II, 71--72, 75.

[101] Ibid., II, 170.

[102] Ibid., III, 104.

[103] Ibid., III, 124; Condliffe, chapter 14; Sorrenson, 'Polynesian Corpuscles', 10--17, 25; Donald Marshall, 'Descent, Relationship and Territorial Groups: Social Categories Relevant to the Mangaian *Kōpū* Discussion', MS, n.d., 34; Thomas, *Out of Time*, 44--45.

> time of the people than it did in pre-missionary days and than it did in European communities.[104]

Te Rangi Hiroa expressed similar views regarding the work of the Catholic missionaries in Mangareva noting: 'Mentally and emotionally, I have been sick to vomiting at the pitiful sadness of it all'.[105] The problems associated with such changes must have been acutely felt by a man interested in the indigenous material culture and himself the product of a cross-cultural marriage.

Te Rangi Hiroa's collection of traditions in Mangaia relied upon a few key informants. The most important, Aiteina, a retired pastor, was a son of Gill's associate, Mamae. Like his father he was considered an able preacher of great intellectual ability.[106] The second most important informant, Akaeakore, was a *tama va'ine* (descended through the woman) to Ngāti Vara. Te Rangi Hiroa also used manuscripts written by Mamae.[107] Te Rangi Hiroa's standard collecting method in Mangaia and other islands was to seek out the old people, obtain as much about the pre-European culture as they could remember, and make use of any available written material.[108] He could be critical of his informants, remarking of Mangaians: 'The spoken word of old men is valuable but is not always final'.[109]

Despite the critiques of Gill Te Rangi Hiroa continued to rely on the same Ngāti Vara pool of knowledge, reckoning they were the only ones to preserve good genealogical records.[110] Members of the politically dominant tribes, Ngāti Mana'une and Ngāti Tāne, have criticised Te Rangi Hiroa's writings for his reliance on Ngāti Vara.[111] The brevity of the fieldwork period, five months, may have contributed to this. Te Rangi Hiroa himself acknowledged the effects of time constraints upon his work, though he believed his Maori insight obviated the need for as long a stay as a non-Polynesian required.[112] Reliance upon key informants meant that information from other people which they contested was often silently omitted or relegated to footnotes.[113]

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[104] **Advent**, 694--95. This typescript was intended as part of his monograph **MangS**, the text is numbered from page 641 to 705. See Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, II, 282. This unpublished text picks up the historical account at the moment of the arrival of Christianity and includes the period of New Zealand colonial administration. Condliffe, 206--207 and fn. 7, mistakenly thought that **Advent** was intended for Te Rangi Hiroa's later monograph, *Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands*.

[105] Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, III, 172.

[106] SSL, GAH, 6 July 1882.

[107] **MangS**, 3, 8. Genealogical information on these informants in ibid., 27 table 3, 75, 97.

[108] He comments extensively on his methods in Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, I, 252; II, 74; III, 172--73.

[109] Ibid., III, 74. Other critical remarks about Mangaian informants in Te Rangi Hiroa, 'Ceremonial Adzes of Mangaia', MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 7.6, BPBML; **MangS**, 85.

Like Gill Te Rangi Hiroa practised the art of anonymous citation of informants. These sometimes referred to his principal informants; however, others hinted at a wider but unidentified network of informants: 'The old people were punctilious in observing that instruction was not bought'; 'An informant stated that his marae was Tau-kea'; 'The Mangaians believed'; 'The present inhabitants are strangely lacking in detailed informantion regarding their use'.[114] The presence of the Mangaian informant was sometimes only revealed by the use of the present tense.[115] At times the informant was not marked at all; Te Rangi Hiroa's fieldwork notes were inserted on occasion without any ascription.[116]

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[110] **MangS**, 26, 57.

[111] Marshall, 35--36; Niel Gunson, personal communication. A present *'ui rangatira*, Pōkino Aperahama, pointed out a number of alleged errors in the versions of tradition given to Te Rangi Hiroa; he blamed it on the Mangaian informants. Cook Islands Notebook No. 1.

[112] E.g. **MangS**, 74; Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, I, 45--46; III, 67. Thomas, *Out of Time*, 47, has suggested that the short time spent on Bishop Museum field work, no more than seven or eight months, and just 17 days for Te Rangi Hiroa's trip to Tongareva in the Cook group, affected the authority of the ethnographical statements themselves. Some of the shorter time periods did not entirely escape criticism from anthropological colleagues at the time. E.g. Julian H. Steward, review of Bishop Museum publications, *American Anthropologist*, 39 (1937), 154--55. Commenting on a Museum occasional paper by Gordon MacGregor, *Notes on the Ethnology of Pukapuka*, Steward thought that his three day visit to Pukapuka 'seems to demonstrate that three days is not sufficient to gather material for a clear and convincing, to say nothing of complete, description of non-material culture'. Amongst the other works reviewed was **MangS**.

[113] **MangS**, 74. Cf. **MP**.

[114] **MangS**, 148, 167, 169.

[115] Ibid., 100, 157, 179, 199.

[116] Ibid., 105--106, 111, 157.

The reader is left trusting the fieldworker's authority as a scientific and objective anthropologist.

The text of *Mangaian Society* was affected by the financial and editorial constraints imposed by the Bishop Museum.[117] Te Rangi Hiroa did not include the study of Mangaia's post-contact changes in his monograph, concerned that it would be cut up to fit in with economic considerations.[118] The published work follows the strict format established for the Museum bulletins.[119] Sections are marked by dryly descriptive titles incorporating an introductory description of the island with major divisions on its origin myths, historical records and social organisation.

A distinctive feature of Te Rangi Hiroa's writing is the prominence given to the work of Mamae. Gill had only permitted the indigenous voice a brief space in his text apart from the songs he appended to his narratives. Te Rangi Hiroa used the Mamae manuscript material extensively, establishing it as a countertext to Gill's writing.[120] Nevertheless, Te Rangi Hiroa interposed his own authorial voice, shifting the text between the missionary's writings, Mamae's information and his own opinions and observations. Gill and the Mangaian informants became textual artifacts, obedient to Te Rangi Hiroa's authorial whim.

The varied narrations of Mangaia's past collected and recorded since the mid-nineteenth century expose, when read together, a loose-ended historical texture. These unravelled threads provide many profitable strands of enquiry. However the past is never disinterested. Before entering Mangaia's texted history consideration must be given to the types of expert who provided the traditions and the means by which they were preserved and transmitted.

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[117] Te Rangi Hiroa often criticised the Museum's policies. Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, I, 226; II, 38--39. See also Donald Marshall, 36.

[118] Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, II, 282.

[119] Nicholas Thomas has pointed out that the restrictive nature of the classificatory format of the Bishop Museum bulletin did not permit any profound analysis or interpretation of the society as 'a total system or social dynamics'. *Out of Time*, 44.

[120] E.g. MangS, 9, 20--21, 62, 118, 124, 134.

PART ONE

MATTERS OF TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE

The historian assembles not so much facts as *signifiants*; and these he connects and organizes in such a way as to replace the vacuousness of the pure catalogue with positive meaning.

Roland Barthes, 'Historical Discourse', 153.

Many ethnologists, some of them front-rank men, have at times stormed the citadel of Mangaian antiquity, and, in general, it must be regretfully recorded that results were not very often in proportion to the effort expended--to say nothing of the expense of such expeditions.

Edwin Gold, MS Case 5 Co 1, BPBML.

TWO

WOMEN AND TRADITIONAL CATEGORIES OF EXPERT

The recordings of Mangaian history made since the mid-nineteenth century have each presented a structuring of the past. They give rise to several historiographical issues. Two of them concern the historicity of the darkness and light contrast echoed in the various texts and the evidence for a transformation of the Mangaian tribe.[1] More importantly for the writing of the island's past is the place of the experts such as the Mangaian *kōrero* before and after the arrival of Christianity and, in particular, the role women played in such a hierarchy.

The existence of a woman amongst modern *kōrero* does not appear exceptional to present day Mangaians, suggesting they recognise a woman's potential role as an expert in tribal and historical knowledge.[2] However, such recognition of women seems at variance with the claims of the literature. Gill, in common with other European writers, often expostulated in his writings that Mangaian (and other) women prior to the ameliorating influence of Christianity were put upon and oppressed: 'Woman', he once wrote, 'is the slave of man in heathen society';[3] a position which has subsequently been maintained by Mangaia's own *kōrero* and Gill's indigenous successors in the church.[4]

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[1] For further discussion of these issues see Appendices A and B.

[2] A similar situation exists in Pukapuka. Borofsky, 7.

However such a view is open to question. A 'reading against the grain' of the same work in which Gill declared women to be the slaves of men discovers that throughout most of eastern Polynesia '"wise women"' existed whom people consulted regarding 'the minor affairs of daily life'.[5] According to Gill these women 'were supposed to be inspired by a female divinity'. He added that a small present was made to this divinity before the consultation. One example of such an offering involved Ruatama'ine, a Mangaian female deity, who was called 'the revealer of secrets'.[6] She was consulted 'to discover a thief, and to secure success in fishing'.[7]

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[3] **CIC**, 8. The particular paragraph quoted paints a delightfully gloomy picture of a woman's work in contrast to the meager duties, it would seem, of the husband. Other references in **DL**, 205, 382; **Life**, 56.

Similar comments can be found in the writings of Gill's fellow missionaries William Gill, *Gems from the Coral Islands* 2 vols (London, 1856), II, 140; and, William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches: Hawaii* (Rutland, Vermont (U.S.A.), 1969 [1842]), 126. Non-mission writers also stressed the inferior position of women, e.g. Elsdon Best, *The Maori*, Memoirs of the Polynesian Society 5, vol. 1 (Wellington (N.Z.), 1924), 401, 404.

For a general discussion of this ideological theme see Gunson, 'Sacred Women Chiefs and Female 'Headmen' in Polynesia', *JPH* XXII, 3--4 (1987), 147; Caroline Ralston, 'Introduction', *JPH* XXII, 3--4 (1987), 118; Penelope Schoeffel, 'Daughters of Sina' (Ph.D thesis, Australian National University, 1979), 424--26.

[4] Gunson, 'Sacred Women', 166 and fn. 91; **MK**, Tereevangeria Aratangi, 'Te Puna Keia', 'Te Tua ia Kotuku'. Gill published his own version of the last story, see **Life**, 141f.

[5] **CIC**, 14, 15. This publication is a reprint of an 1892 work by Gill written for a World Exposition. That piece is a reprint of the text he wrote for the 'Report of Committee no 11: The Bibliography of the Australasian, Papuan, and Polynesian Races', *Report of the Second Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science ... January 1890* (AAAS), 323--53, which in its turn is a summary based upon information in his earlier ethnographies. The text is composed in a standard ethnographic format as set out in the Committee's list of notes and queries, see *Report*, 293--95.

[6] **DL**, 371. Additional information on Ruatama'ine and the offerings in SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'.

[7] **CIC**, 14. The singular lack of data concerning this goddess seems to be the result of a deliberate oversight as the last *ariki pa tai*, with whom Ruatama'ine is closely associated, was one of Gill's informants. One can only assume that Gill was keen to downplay any traditional importance that may have been accorded to females, for fear it would jeopardise the mission's image of the oppressed woman. Alternatively, the *ariki* himself, who became a patron of the mission, may have had his own reasons to downplay the importance of women in pre-contact Mangaian society.

A second office open to women in eastern Polynesia was the *tangata purepure*, the sorcerer or sorceress. Gill translated *tangata purepure* as 'a man who prays' yet it is clear from his other statements that both men and women were eligible for recruitment: in Cook Islands Maori the term *tangata* can signify a man or a woman.[8]

A third religious office more specific to Mangaia which was sometimes held by women was the second ranking spiritual rulership, the *ariki pa tai.* Its religious significance behoves a more detailed examination of its apparent connection with the female side of Mangaian society. Gill recognised two women as *ariki*, while several men obtained the position either as their offspring or through female descent from an earlier male office holder.[9]

The *ariki pa tai* had a number of other associations with female figures. Firstly, the spiritual ruler came 'under the protection' of the *tapairu* (females from 'Avaiki).[10] Secondly, Ruatama'ine had a basket installed near the *ariki*'s residence and the highly sacred *marae* of Rongo on the western seashore. This female divinity was also 'supposed to be incarnate in a royal female whose home was near the sea'.[11] Judging from this description the 'royal' female was a member of the priestly family.[12] The possibility that inspired royal females could act as the *ariki pa tai* receives support from Gill's description of the fourth holder of that title, Puanga, as 'a royal female'.[13]

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[8] **CIC**, 14, 15; **MangS**, 188. References to sorceresses can be found in the Society Islands, e.g. Douglas L. Oliver, *Ancient Tahitian Society*, 3 vols. (Honolulu, 1974), 874--75; Teuira Henry, *Ancient Tahiti*, BPBMB 48 (Honolulu, 1928), 203ff.

The Marquesas (and other islands) Nicholas Thomas, *Marquesan Societies: Inequality and Political Transformation in Eastern Polynesia* (Oxford, 1990), 122--28; Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas 1774--1880* (Melbourne, 1980), 168.

The Hawaiian Islands, e.g. David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 2, 2nd ed., trans. N.B. Emerson (Honolulu, 1951), 82, 84--85 fn. 10; Valerio Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice*, trans. P. Wissing (Chicago, 1985), 112.

New Zealand, e.g. Edward Tregear, *The Maori Race* (Wanganui (N.Z.), 1904), 499, 501; Best, *Maori*, I, 468; *Some Aspects of Maori Myth and Religion*, Dominion Museum Monograph no. 1 (Wellington, 1954), 9, 18, 23, 27.

[9] **DL**, 313 fn. 1, 316; **MangS**, 116; Gunson, 'Sacred Women', 166.

[10] **M&S**, 264.

[11] **DL**, 371 and fn. 1; **Life**, 122.

[12] The only building on the sea coast before the mission period was the residence of the *ariki pa tai.* A description is preserved in J. C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, 4 vols. and portfolio (Cambridge, 1967), vol. 3, *The Voyages of the Resolution and Discovery 1776--1780*, part one, 830, 1004; **M&S**, 15.

Previous writers, such as Te Rangi Hiroa, while admitting the historical fact of women in the priestly successsion have downplayed their significance believing the women were only included to show that the succession came through them.[14] Comments by Gill supported this notion; he stated that though 'the kingly [i.e. high priestly] office *might* descend in the *female* line' the male descent was favoured. Furthermore '*no female* was competent to offer "prayers" (karakia), however well versed in them'.[15]

To clarify the status of women as the *ariki pa tai* and in other religious positions an exploration of the ethnographic literature is required. Gill's last statement that women could not recite *karakia* seems, at least in part, to rely on the succession from Puanga to her infant son Vaeruarau. According to Gill, who incidentally does not make it clear in his account that Puanga was the previous *ariki pa tai*, Puanga was not able to pronounce the appropriate ritual over the feast which marked the end of the installation ceremony. This, he explained, was a consequence of her sex. Nevertheless Puanga had sufficient standing to come up with a compromise acceptable to all the participants; she slapped the baby whose cry was deemed a sufficient invocation to the gods.[16]

Her apparent inability to officiate may have resulted from her infant son having already been installed. In this situation it seems reasonable to suppose that she was no longer able to speak herself; Gill himself pointed out that none of the others at the feast (presumably men) could say the prayers either. There is not sufficient information from which to argue, as Gill does, that Puanga would have been unable to chant the appropriate *karakia* when in office herself.

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[13] DL, 86, 316.

[14] MangS, 115.

[15] CIC, 10. His emphasis.

[16] DL, 86. An explanation of the reasons why Puanga would have to pass on the office is outside the scope of the present enquiry. One possibility is that the female *ariki* had the status of a sacred virgin and upon bearing a child lost, or passed on, her power and authority to her offspring. See e.g. Gunson, 'Sacred Women', 141, 149--50, 155. If the child was the product of an *ariki* marriage it would have outranked its mother. See Dening, 68--69; Morrison in Oliver, 442; Tregear, 124, 195.

Evidence from other Polynesian islands suggests that women could have held religious offices in their own right. The case was succintly put more than twenty-five years ago: 'Royal women in Polynesia had an important religious role despite the prevailing belief that men had higher *mana* (the mystical power determining rank) than women.'[17] Women were noted as priestesses on Kapingamarangi atoll in the Polynesian Outliers.[18] In Samoa chiefly sisters had sacred status and the daughters in major lineages appear to have served as priestesses or ''incarnations' of the greater deities'. In Manu'a there are suggestions of an hereditary priestess.[19] A similar situation occurred in Tonga where certain Tu'i Tonga Fefine ruled jointly with their brother the Tu'i Tonga or performed the duties of that office themselves.[20] In Pukapuka, an atoll in the northern Cook Islands, which shares a number of characteristics with western Polynesian islands, lineages had a sacred maid, the *mayakitanga*, who seems to have served as 'the passive channel for the good will of the gods'.[21]

Women of eastern Polynesia too held certain religious positions, though they appear to have been of a more subsidiary form than in western Polynesia.[22] New Zealand, more than most, deliberately exploited the ambivalent *tapu* qualities of women in their ritual.[23] Certain Maori women, usually an old woman or priestess (*ruahine*), or a young virgin (*puhi* or *tapairu*), were prime actors in ceremonies designed to either dispel or instil *tapu.*[24] A *puhi* also, according to one Maori, preserved the *mana* of the whole tribe and its land.[25] Like the *ariki* such a woman was supported by the tribe and could attain great influence, in particular, in promoting peace and protecting supplicants from violence. Such women could be set apart from other people within a palisaded building with their own attendants.[26] Similar ritual functions by women were performed in the Marquesas and, to a lesser extent, in the Society and Hawaiian Islands.[27]

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[17] Gunson, 'Great Women and Friendship Contract Rites in pre-Christian Tahiti', *JPS* 73, 1 (March 1964), 57.

[18] F. Allan Hanson, 'Female Pollution in Polynesia?', *JPS* 91, 3 (September 1982), 371.

[19] Gunson, 'Sacred Women', 153; also Schoeffel, 385--86.

[20] Phyllis Herda, 'Gender, Rank and Power in 18th century Tonga', *JPH* XXII, 4 (October 1987), 198.

[21] Julia Hecht, 'The Culture of Gender in Pukapuka: Male, Female, and the *Mayakitanga* 'Sacred Maid'', *JPS* 86, 2 (June 1977), 196.

[22] Hanson, 375.

[23] Ibid., 343.

A recent reanalysis by Hanson of the relationship between *tapu* and women suggests that females served as a 'point of communication between the human and spiritual worlds'.[28] Such a condition he speculated would seem to make them ideally suited as religious leaders.[29] When it is remembered that Mangaia, though geographically in eastern Polynesia, has been thought to incorporate certain western Polynesian traits,[30] it seems plausible to suggest that the Mangaian female *ariki* fulfilled an analogous role to those of priestesses in western Polynesia.

Nevertheless, this re-evaluation of female religious functions in pre-contact Mangaia should be situated within the wider ethnography of the island's hierarchy of experts. Another religious office on Mangaia was the *koromatua* or *korometua* whom Gill described as a 'wise man', or more specifically 'a priest, and a special depository of all the lore of idol-worship', and in one case, that of the *koromatua*, Patiatoa, 'an instructor of Kings [i.e. *ariki pa tai/uta*]--a peculiarly sacred office.'[31] The exclusively masculine gender of the *koromatua* is supported by Savage's definition of him as 'a learned man of the tribe, a priest'.[32] Nor were women apparently participants in counselling the *mangaia* or *ariki (pa uta?)*; Gill simply refers to 'elders and wise men'.[33]

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[24] F. Allan Hanson and Louise Hanson, *Counterpoint in Maori Culture* (London, 1983), 92; Best, *Maori,* I, 261, 296, 407--08, 450--53; Tregear, 152, 377, translated *tapairu* as 'High Priestess of the tribe'.

[25] Best, *Maori,* I, 451.

[26] Ibid., I, 349--51, 353, 407; Tregear, 126, 202.

[27] Hanson, 360, 364, 368, 370; also e.g. Malo, 148, 175; Oliver, 421, 444; Thomas, *Marquesan Societies,* 70--71, 74--75. Valeri, 113, argues that in Hawaii women on the whole occupied a marginalised position in religious observances.

[28] Hanson, 371.

[29] Ibid., 374.

[30] Gunson, 'Sacred Women', 157. The most recent research would seem to be turning up increasing evidence for such a possibility. E.g. Ben Finney et al., 'Wait for the West Wind', *JPS* 98, 3 (September 1989), 294--95; Richard Walter et al., 'A Ceramic Sherd from Ma'uke in the Southern Cook Islands', *JPS* 98, 4 (December 1989).

More importantly, apart from several *ariki pa tai*, there is no evidence to suggest that other *ariki* were women. This distinction is obviously not arbitary and appears linked to the different functions the various *ariki* performed. The *ariki pa uta*, or using his alternative name, *te ariki karakia* ('the praying king' as Gill has it), was the principal religious figure on Mangaia.[34] Gill tellingly described him as 'the great spiritual dignity or pontiff'.[35] He presided over all the principal religious ceremonies, assisted it seems by the *ariki pa tai* and other dignatories.[36] Both *ariki* were responsible for warding-off the *pa tuarangi* (variously translated as 'evil-minded spirits', 'ghosts', or 'guardians') from the island:[37] the *ariki pa uta* kept them away from the east and the *ariki pa tai* from the west.[38]

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[31] **M&S**, 213--14, 278, 306. The *koromatua* is not clearly described in the Mangaian ethnographic literature.

[32] Savage, 116.

[33] **CIC**, 10.

[34] **DL**, 315. Te Rangi Hiroa in **MangS**, 116--17, seems to overlook this reference and to associate the *ariki pa tai* with this last title as well, leading him to give the shore high priest a dominant role in certain ceremonies which he or she does not seem to have had. Gill is explicit in only ascribing the *ariki karakia* title to the inland spiritual ruler (or interior high priest).

[35] **M&S**, 298.

[36] Ibid., 296--98.

[37] **DL**, 315; **Life**, 79. A more literal translation would be divine, heavenly or sacred things. Savage, 215, 402.

[38] **DL**, 315. A similar role may have been envisaged in New Zealand, where the Maori believed that the *ariki* had power over the air and underworld. Aarne A. Koskinen, *Ariki: The First-born: An Analysis of a Polynesian Chieftain Title*, FF Communications no. 181 (Helsinki, 1960), 141.

The choice of the west side of the island is significant. The Orongo marae near where the *ariki pa tai* resided was located there.[39] The western shore was the arrival point of the second-ranking Mangaian god, Motoro.[40] Furthermore, the dead departed from there for the other-world ('Avaiki).[41] Rongo himself, whose priest the *ariki pa tai* was, existed in 'Avaiki.[42] The *ariki* also came under the protection of women or *tapairu* from 'Avaiki.[43] Interestingly, the Mangaian culture hero Ngaru is carried off there by *tapairu*, described in that context as the daughters of Miru, the goddess of the dead, from whom he subsequently escaped.[44] The ethnographic literature suggests that the *ariki pa tai* probably guarded Mangaia from just such spiritual forces. Such a role is suggested by another myth where Tiki, the sister of Veetini (the first man to die a natural death),[45] physically blocked up the entrance to 'Avaiki to prevent the spirits continuing to afflict people with disease and death.[46]

If women in Mangaia could be sorceresses (*tangata purepure*), or on occasion spiritual rulers (*ariki*), the category of inspired 'wise women' might be described as shamanic priestesses. Shamans were mediums and spirit travellers.[47] The best documented shamanic behaviour occurred in the Marquesas Islands. There the shamans formed the second of two types of religious specialist. The first, the *tuhuna o'ono*, were experts in traditions, performed the sacred chants, and made the appropriate sacrifices. The shamans or *tau'a* could be either male or female and occupied a more peripheral position in society, criticising members of the established order, foretelling the future and healing the sick.[48]

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[39] See Map of Mangaia, p. xvii.

[40] **M&S**, 31--32.

[41] Ibid., 181--84. In New Zealand the west was associated with the female. Hanson and Hanson, 20.

[42] **M&S**, 16, 19, 31.

[43] Ibid., 264.

[44] Ibid., 228--33.

[45] Ibid., 181.

[46] Ibid., 155.

[47] Gunson, 'Tongan historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History', MS, [1987], 4.

A similar division of religious functionaries and similar forms of shamanic behaviour can be found to varying degrees in other Polynesian islands, though the division did not preclude the possibility of a non-shamanic priest being possessed by a god.[49] The healing role of the shaman survived, to a certain degree, the changes effected by Christianity, and continues, in some places, to be practised today.[50]

At least some of the islands in the Cook group had a similar distinction. Rarotongan society before Christianity distinguished between various types of *ta'unga* and the *taura atua*, the last possessing many shamanic qualities.[51] However, modern Rarotongans consider that the *ta'unga* included sorcerers (*ta'unga purepure*) and seers (*ta'unga a te tini*) though the term is nowadays restricted to medical healers using spirit familiars (*ta'unga tūpāpaku*) to aid in the diagnosis. Such healers may be either men or women.[52] A similar usage is presently found in Mangaia.[53] In Atiu a woman practises as a *ta'unga.* In her case, she is a medical healer; nevertheless, it is reported that some locals believed she was a 'sorceress or witch doctor' with the ability to communicate with the spirit world. In 1947 she was the prophetess of a local cargo cult.[54] Clearly, there has been a shift in terminologies and roles throughout the Cook Islands in the recent past.

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[48] Thomas, *Marquesan Societies*, 109--117; Dening, 165; E.H. Lamont, *Wild Life among the Pacific Islanders* (London, 1867), 44.

[49] Best, *Some Aspects of Maori Myth and Religion*, 6--7, 29; *Spiritual and Mental Concepts of the Maori*, Dominion Museum Monograph no. 2 (Wellington, 1954), 9, 19; *Maori*, I, 240--45; Ellis, 275, 309--14; Henry, 145; Malo, 82, 114-15, 251; John Martin, *Tonga Islands: William Mariner's Account*, 4th ed. (Tonga, 1981), 84--86; Oliver, 784--85, 866--69; Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori* (Wellington, 1952), 473--74; John Williams, *The Samoan Journals of John Williams 1830 and 1832*, ed. with intro. by Richard M. Moyle (Canberra, 1984), 265--66; Basil Thomson, *The Diversions of a Prime Minister*, The Colonial History Series (London, 1968; originally published 1894), 375; Tregear, 514; Valeri, 135--39.

Best refers to a shamanic priestess Maraea from the Tuhoe tribe who became a seer in the 1860s using her own still born child as a spirit familiar. During a battle in 1865 she acted as 'the director of the fighting' and claimed to be able to catch the enemies bullets in her hands.

In Tikopia Raymond Firth argued against the existence of shamans (prophets) preferring the terms spirit possession and mediumship; these he contrasted to a more regular priestly role. 'Individual Fantasy and Social Norms: Seances with Spirit Mediums', in Firth, *Tikopia Ritual and Belief* (Boston, 1967), 296; *Rank and Religion in Tikopia* (London, 1970), 33--34; chapter 9.

[50] E.g. Firth, 'Individual Fantasy and Social Norms', 293--94; *Rank and Religion in Tikopia*, 273--77, 292--96; Gunson, 'Visionary Experience and Social Protest in Polynesia: A Note on 'Ofa Mele Longosai', *JPH* 8 (1973), 127--30; Schoeffel, 386--94; Levy, 166--77.

For turn-of-the-century descriptions from New Zealand see, James Cowan, *The Maoris of New Zealand* (Christchurch (N.Z.), 1910), 117--Cowan cites a woman tattoo expert and faith healer, 190; Te Rangi Hiroa, *Coming of the Maori*, 406, 412. Both these sources regarded such persons as quacks.

[51] Savage, 366, defined the *taura atua* as 'an officiating priest of the ancient gods; a sorcerer, a wizard, a diviner, one who inquires of the gods'.

He defined the *ta'unga*, 365, as 'a priest: a name applied to any person who was appointed to, or held the office of a priest, or any person who was skilled in any special art'.

A MS collected by Gill describes the possession by a 'vaerua kino' ('bad spirit') of his or her *taura*. **Mi 131, 132**, 'Raumii, Te Vava'.

In pre-contact Mangaia, the religious categories were organised differently. There the *pi'a atua*, the receptacles of the gods, were inspired religious mediums. The *pi'a atua*, sometimes shortened to *pi'a* or *atua*, incorporated the spiritual rulers as the priests of Rongo and the *pi'a* of the tribal gods.[55] The island's traditions confirm that an ecstatic form of priesthood was favoured over the performer of ritual, such as the Marquesan *tuhuna o'ono*.[56] Unlike the *taura* or modern Cook Islands *ta'unga*, the Mangaian tribal *atua* were always male, though descent could be through women.[57] The 'wise women' of Gill's ethnography which would most appropriately fit the *taura* or the modern *ta'unga* remains an elusive category in pre-contact Mangaian nomenclature.

The most likely local contender for this category appears to be the *kōrero.* Such a possibility receives support from Savage who, in his definition of *tumu kōrero* (an alternative name), avoided any suggestion of specific gender, describing a *kōrero* as a tribal historian and counsellor.[58] In Mangaia the *kōrero* may have fulfilled a more religious role than was implied by Savage. The Mamae manuscripts preserved by Te Rangi Hiroa relate the story of a Ngāti Vara *'are kōrero* Rautoa who was 'devoted to the services of his god (*e tangata miri atua*) [more literally 'a person anointed (by the) gods']'. He was recognised even by the hostile tribe of Ngāriki to be possessed by the god Tāne.[59] The *kōrero* also served as 'wise men'; in the case of Para'i, he was consulted by a member of an opposing tribe.[60] This role, as a pan-tribal fount of wisdom, is regarded as the *kōrero*'s principal function by present day Mangaians.[61]

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[52] Baddeley, 'Rarotongan Society', 236, 249--56; Taira Rere, *Some Aspects of Rarotongan Life* (Fiji, 1976), 59--60.

[53] Papa Aratangi, 'Transformation of the Mangaian Religion', 110--13.

[54] Rebecca Ann Stephenson, 'Perception of Environment in Anthropology, Atiu, Southern Cook Group: A Case Study' (Ph.D thesis, University of Oregon, 1976), 76.

[55] Papa Aratangi, 'Transformation of the Mangaian Religion', 26--33; **MangS**, 113.

[56] **M&S**, 19, 27, 32, 35--36, 90ff; women are possessed by evil spirits in **Life**, 123ff, 278--79; **MangS**, 177--78. At first sight there seems to be a disagreement in the ethnographic sources regarding possession by Rongo. WWG appears to exclude it in one source but emphasises it in his account of the *ariki*'s installation. Cf. **M&S**, 32 and **CIC**, 14. In the last work possession by Rongo was depicted as crucial to the installation ceremony. It would seem that Rongo, unlike other *atua*, only inspired an *ariki* whereas other deities could and did inspire people other than their designated *pi'a.*

[57] E.g. **DL**, 313 fn. 1. In contrast, women in New Zealand could sometimes act as a *waka atua* (vessel or medium of the god). Best, *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist*, Memoirs of the Polynesian Society vol VI, 3d ed. (Wellington, 1977), 1065.

Te Rangi Hiroa linked the offices of *'are kōrero* and *pi'a atua* arguing that the tribal *pi'a* also served as the repositories of tribal knowledge.[62] This would make sense considering the evidence for the offices both sharing inspired practices. However Gill, who unfortunately does not use the term *kōrero*, distinguishes between the 'wise men' (presumably the *kōrero*), and the 'priests' (presumably the *pi'a atua* and the *koromatua*),[63] suggesting he felt there was some form of division, possibly related to differences in their respective teaching and ritual functions.

All these examples of earlier 'wise men' or *kōrero* were of course men. Nevertheless Savage hinted at the possibility that both sexes could fulfill this position. Such a proposition would explain the existence in pre-contact Mangaia of the 'royal women' inspired by Ruatama'ine; a reference to instructing a first-born daughter as an *'are kōrero*; and the mediumistic role of a priest's wife.[64] It would also account for some modern shamanic practices amongst Mangaian women. An example of clairvoyancy through the agency of a female medium's ancestor was reported earlier this century.[65] Tereevangeria Aratangi is said to have received some of her knowledge in dreams:[66] a common means for both mediums and others to learn of or from the spirits of dead ancestors.[67]

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[58] Savage, 116, defines *kōrero* as 'an historian or one who imparts or teaches tribal or historical knowledge; a tribal counsellor; one versed in all knowledge pertaining to tribal matters'.

[59] MangS, 70; B, 'Rautoa'; M. The phrase used is 'e tei roto iaia taua atua ra o Tane'.

[60] MP.

[61] Papa Aratangi, 'Transformation of the Mangaian Religion', 25--26.

[62] MangS, 111, 119. In Rarotonga the *ta'unga* also instructed the young in the *'are kōrero* (house of learning). James Bernard Baltaxe, 'The Transformation of the Rangatira: A Case of the European Reinterpretation of Rarotongan Social Organization' (Ph.D thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, 1975), 75.

[63] CIC, 13--14; M&S, xix. A view supported by Papa Aratangi, 'Transformation of the Mangaian Religion', 25--26. Throughout his own writings Gill simply refers to 'wise men' and 'sages', e.g. M&S, 8--9, 117, 162.

The existence of a teaching role for female *kōrero* is better established. Mangaian myth relates several occasions where heroes were instructed in various arts by female figures.[68] Teaching posts were held by women in the Society Islands. The *'orometua vahine* (women teachers) instructed the young (including children of 'royal families') in genealogical and other traditional lore.[69]

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[64] **CIC**, 28; **DL**, 194--95; **G 45**, 'E Apeape no Enuataurere' (WWG: 'The Praises of Enuataurere') by her father Rako'ia ca. 1815. The relevant lines of the song are:

Tei ia oki to oku	WWG: Whither is my
inangaro tei pau	pet gone--
Atuna ia au	She who absorbed all
	my love--
e korero tuku	She whom I had hoped
na te metua akairi ake	To fill with
i reira ē!	ancestral wisdom?

Another copy of this song is in SSP 1, 'Rev. W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'.

[65] 'Clairvoyance among the Polynesian', *JPS* XXX, 2 (June 1921), 119--20.

[66] Donald Marshall, personal communication, 2 April 1989.

[67] **M&S**, 177; Baddeley, 'Rarotongan Society', 242--44; Firth, 'The Meaning of Dreams', in Firth, *Tikopia Ritual and Belief*, 164, 170; Henry, 202, 220--23, 225--28; Levy, 375--76, 386--87; Oliver, 600; Best, *Some Aspects of Maori Myth and Religion*, 29; *Spiritual and Mental Concepts of the Maori*, 8--9; *Maori*, I, 239; Hanson and Hanson, 67; Tregear, 208.

[68] **M&S**, 65, 109, 125, 130.

[69] Oliver, 864--65. The Tahitian term for missionary and teacher (*'orometua*= Mangaian *koromatua*) was subsequently adopted in the Cook Islands. See **M&S**, 306 fn. 1. Today it is the title for pastors of the Cook Islands Christian Church (CICC). It is also used in the Cook Islands Bible as the translation for Christ's role as 'teacher'. E.g. Mark 5:35.

By contrast the Tahitian term *'orero* (i.e. *kōrero*) was used to refer to orators or the staff orator for a chief. Oliver, 869, 1031. In New Zealand, usage was more akin to the Cook Islands, a *pu korero* meant someone trained as a repository of learning. Best, *Maori*, I, 71, 80.

The local acceptance of women as teachers survived the transforming influence of Christianity in Mangaia. Gill mentions two Mangaian wives of early Cook Island missionaries to New Guinea as 'preaching most appropriately' in their husbands' absence; he added,

> The natives were as much pleased as though the teachers themselves took the services. Schools went on just as usual under the charge of these good women. Both these women acquired a singular hold of the natives. They were at the same time good housewives, and scrupulously clean and neat. Piri's wife could fearlessly steer a boat through the boiling surf with perfect safety. ... 'Faithful unto death,' were they. 'The Lord giveth the word: *the women* that publish the tidings are a great host.'[70]

The women are unnamed and have to assume a certain Victorian standing as 'good housewives'; nevertheless, their teaching role is unimpaired, being buttressed by biblical sanction. The teaching role in the church has been sustained sufficiently to allow a woman to graduate recently along with her Mangaian husband as a Bachelor of Divinity and to lecture at the Takamoa Theological College in Rarotonga. The ideological shibboleth advanced about the inferiority of women in traditional Mangaian society was simply a device of the mission's own making.

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[70] **DL**, 361--62. His emphasis.

THREE

THE TRANSMISSION OF TRADITIONS

The transmission and preservation of Mangaian traditions through time was accomplished by various means. The general mechanism of transmission was explained by Gill: 'The succession was from father to son, or from uncle to nephew. So too, of sorceresses; it would be from mother to daughter or from aunt to niece'.[1] A similar procedure was followed in most fields of life: boys were taught by male relatives and girls by females.[2] This 'gendered' pattern is reflected in Mangaian myth where Mueu taught women to beat *tapa* while Tukaitaua and Tutavake gave instruction about war. Nevertheless, teaching could bridge the gender gap; the female *tapairu* instructed Ngaru on the art of ball-throwing.[3]

Prior to Christianity's arrival there were at least two processes for transmitting and remembering traditions. The first was individualised and was carried on within a family: a person watched or listened to a practitioner, remembered, and then repeated the performance themselves. Such repetition was critical to the learning of new material.[4] Sometimes the process could, at least initially, be surreptitious.[5] This applied to all areas of traditional knowledge, such as fishing, fighting, carving and singing.[6] The close link between looking, listening and knowing is highlighted by the fact that one term *kite* can signify both knowledge and the means of acquiring it.[7]

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[1] **CIC**, 15. Examples of such transmissions in **DL**, chapter 2, 224. And in the Society Islands. E.g. Oliver, 721, 866, 870.

[2] **MangS**, 147--48. An example of instruction from father to son in William Gill, *Gems from the Coral Islands*, II, 171.

[3] **M&S**, 130, 264.

[4] Borofsky, 88.

[5] **M&S**, 52, 102--103, 286--87. For a Tahitian example see, Oliver, II, 865.

[6] **DL**, chapter 2, 95, 224; **Life**, 165f; **MangS**, 145, 157. Similar methods of acquiring knowledge are practised in the Society group. E.g. Levy, 451--52.

Certain families developed a particular expertise through the course of generations and treated this inherited knowledge as a trade secret.[8] Such experts (*ta'unga*) could be in demand; Rori, though a war refugee, was importuned by a chief to carve his gods and was rewarded with a generous apportionment of land for his efforts.[9] A factor in this respect shown to a *ta'unga* arose from the connection perceived by Mangaians between such knowledge and the gods. The arts of this world were, as Gill put it, 'fac-similes' of those in 'Avaiki, and were taught humanity by the gods.[10] Rori was thought to be 'specially assisted' by the gods when carving their images.[11] The referring back of knowledge to the gods as its source rendered such wisdom *tapu.*[12]

A degree of training was perforce a part of this learning process. Mangaians showed remarkable skills in memorization, even to the extent of retaining and transmitting traditions amongst exiles in other islands.[13] Gill noted several examples where verbal accounts agreed with written versions.[14] Rote-learning can be found in other eastern Polynesian islands where it formed the pedagogical method in the traditional Schools of Learning.[15] A good memory was a prerequisite for the students in their future careers as priests and chiefs.[16]

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[7] Borofsky, 81--83, noted that the term *kite* meant both 'to see' and 'to know', suggesting that looking and learning served as the commonest method of acquisition. Listening, it was argued, was a more secondary method of acquiring knowledge.

However, the term *kite* is not restricted to observation with the eye. Savage, 107, defined its verbal use as 'to see, to perceive, as by the eye, to recognise, to know, to be informed of, to discover, to observe'. In the Cook Islands Bible the phrase in Mark 5:27 'when she had heard of Jesus' is rendered 'e kite akera aia ia Iesu'; other examples of this usage in Mark 6:14, 16, and their parallel passages in Matthew 14:1, 3. Knowledge was acquired by both visual and aural reception.

[8] **MangS**, 131.

[9] **DL**, 233--35. Another example was the case of Vaiaa who was saved because of his inherited medical knowledge. Ibid., 203.

These *ta'unga* are not to be confused with the *pi'a atua* or *tangata purepure*. These experts or artisans, according to Te Rangi Hiroa, were not themselves sacred. Another sort of expert was the *tirango moana* or fishing expert. See **MangS**, 131, 135, 146, 187; **Life**, 117.

[10] **M&S**, 154.

[11] **Jottings**, 223--24.

[12] Hanson and Hanson, 50--51.

[13] **DL**, 8--9, 95, 136, 253; **Jottings**, 68.

In Mangaia political and scholarly discussions took place on the Tukituki-mātā marae in the Kei'a district.[17] Instructions may have been given in an abode on or near the *marae*.[18] A prospective student would supply the *kōrero* who was to give the instruction with a basket of cooked food as a courtesy. Tereevangeria Aratangi recounts how Uakoe of Ngāriki decided that his two sons should be instructed by the *'are kōrero*, Ruanae. For this occasion Uakoe and his wife prepared a *poke* pudding and cooked eels

> *ei kinaki i ta raua manga ei kai na Ruanae e ta raua nga tamariki*
>
> as a relish (or supplement) for their food to be eaten by Ruanae and their two children.[19]

Presumably this meal was to serve as the *a'i kavere*--the meal consumed when meeting to discuss historical and traditional lore.[20]

New entrants to the *'are kōrero*, as in other Polynesian Schools of Learning, were subjected to rigorous testing to weed out those not considered attentive enough to the recitation of the traditions.[21] Formal instruction in the practical arts may also have been carried out. Rori instructed young men in carving, plaiting sinnet, manufacturing adzes and building houses.[22]

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[14] **DL**, 259; **Life**, 344-46.

[15] E.g. Henry, 154; Babadzan, 178; Oliver, 48, 54; Best, *Maori*, I, 71.

[16] Oliver, 879; Koskinen, 119--20.

[17] **MangS**, 139, 175, 176. In his fieldnotes Te Rangi Hiroa referred to the 'Tukituki mātā marae of Raroa' in these terms 'ei konei te tara e tara nei' ('it was here that the traditions/talking was told/spoken'). MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 3.4 Cook Island Field Notes iv, 71; Box 7.1, 'Marae', BPBML. A description and site illustration of this marae is in Peter Bellwood, *Archaeological Research in the Cook Islands*, Pacific Anthropological Records No. 27 (Honolulu, 1978), 159, 160.

The spelling of the district name Kei'a varies amongst the historical authorities. Gill spelt it Keiā. Te Rangi Hiroa preferred the glottal stop. I have used the latter orthography.

[18] Similar *marae* or near-*marae* institutions are found on Rarotonga and Tahiti. Savage, 120; Henry, 123, 154.

[19] **MK**, Tereevangeria Aratangi, 'Te Tua i te Mateanga o Uakoe'.

[20] **MangS**, 138.

[21] Ibid., 148.

The retention of information was assisted by mnemonic aids. Family members might take a person's name and thereby keep alive stories associated with them.[23] Stories were also retold that were connected with particular placenames.[24] These proper names seem to have served, as they did in New Zealand, as a structure round which stories could be elaborated.[25]

The second process of transmission was public, and related to the performance of historical songs at tribal or intertribal festivals. These songs provided Mangaians with the only public record of their 'traditionary beliefs' and the island's history, and played an important part in preserving their knowledge, or 'ancient faith' as Gill described it.[26] This process contrasts with the first where esoteric or specialist information was transmitted within a select group.[27]

The festivals were called as part of the death celebrations for a distinguished deceased, such as a chief, a favourite daughter or son, or a *ta'unga.* Such *eva* incorporated several different forms: the *eva* or dirge proper; the *kapa* or dancing fête; the *teka* or dart-throwing match; and the *tara kakai* or death-talk. Each *eva* had a different arrangement. The dirge was performed during the day and comprised four dirges: the *eva tapara* (funeral dirge); the *eva puruki* (war-dirge); the *eva toki* (axe dirge); and the *eva ta* (crashing dirge).

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[22] **DL**, 235.

[23] Ibid., 111, 136, 137, 191.

[24] Ibid., 31, 218, 287; **M&S**, 60, 288, 289, 367.

[25] R.J. Walker, 'Proper Names in Maori Myth and Tradition', *JPS* 78, 3 (September 1969), 406.

[26] **M&S**, [xix], 272. A similar use of songs as a standard or classical authority regarding island history was found in the Society Islands. Oliver, 327--28. A modern example of public questioning and displaying of knowledge in Borofsky, 101--104.

[27] In his ethnographic writings Gill did sometimes allude to levels of Mangaian knowledge. E.g. **M&S**, 160. A similar distinction was made by Best for the New Zealand Maori. See Best, *The Maori School of Learning*, Dominion Museum Monograph No 6 (Wellington, 1923), 5.

The dancing fête and the *tara kakai* were both performed at night; the dancing under a protective canopy, and the death-talk in specially built long houses.[28]

All of these entertainments involved a series of songs, mass participation and acting--even hamming. The play element often took the form of dramatic representations of myths, such as the seizure of Ngaru by Miru's daughters, the *tapairu*; or historical pageants, such as Cook's visit to Mangaia in 1777.[29] Comedy was never far away from these performances: subtle word-puns were evident; there was a falsetto mimicry of the Europeans' language in the Cook play; in an *eva ta* two men shinned up a pandanus tree imitating the squeak of mice and showered the audience with nuts; in a song referring to the beauty of the *tapairu* a subtle contrast was suggested with the physical appearances of the performers themselves.[30] Judging from the description of a similar kind of play about a shipwreck on Tongareva, or Penrhyn Island in the northern Cook group, the audience would have responded enthusiastically to these thespian efforts.[31]

Preparations for such celebrations were long and involved. Besides the ordinary considerations such as providing sufficient food and enhancing personal presentation the composition of the songs, the centrepiece of the event, required considerable work. A *tara kakai* might require the composition of sixty different songs. Each male relative of the deceased was expected to present a song. Those who felt unable to compose one paid a well-known poet to produce a song. The *mangaia* Koroa, one of Mangaia's most distinguished composers, supplied ten songs for one commemoration. Such preparations could take anything from upwards of several months to a whole year to complete.[32]

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[28] **M&S**, 269--73; **MangS**, 192--97.

[29] Ibid., 196--97; **M&S**, 238--44; **DL**, 251--58.

[30] Ibid., 255 fn. 1; **M&S**, 239 fn. 1, 249--50, 278 fn. 2.

[31] Lamont, 317--22. For good descriptions of such dramas in the Society Islands see Oliver, 339--43.

[32] **M&S**, 270; **DL**, 253.

A description of one *eva puruki* may give some idea of the musical and choreographical complexities involved. The *eva* was performed by most of the island's population arranged in two columns as if for combat and involved solo, choral and spoken parts.[33] The *kapa* festival at which the Cook drama was played had about twenty songs; one dance alone required two hundred performers. The occasion was spread over one night and included encores.[34] Gill reckoned that such occasions employed six artists to compose the songs and to arrange the proceedings, presumably meaning the choreography and other performance details.[35] Musical accompaniment was provided by percussion instruments and a form of harmonicom.[36]

Details of composition techniques are hard to come by for Mangaia. However some evidence is available from the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati).[37] There a poet withdrew from his normal life and underwent an ascetic regimen in preparation for composing songs. The process was marked by various ritual actions. The work was later criticised by selected friends before dance movements were added. The finished piece was then learnt thoroughly and the choreography revised for the public performance.[38] A similar pattern of withdrawal from society; associated rituals; group participation in composing; and spiritual inspiration of the composer (man or woman) can be found in other Pacific cultures.[39]

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[33] **M&S**, 272.

[34] **DL**, 251--52.

[35] Ibid., 252. Similar forms appear in the Society islands. E.g. Oliver, 327, 335, 336--37.

[36] **DL**, 252--53; **M&S**, 193. A detailed discussion and illustration of Cook Island instruments is in Te Rangi Hiroa's *Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands*, 262--75. For instruments in other islands see e.g. Oliver, 328--31; Best, *Maori*, II, 150--70.

[37] Arthur Grimble, *Return to the Islands* (London, 1957), 204--06. Grimble's text is written in the masculine gender; it is not clear whether it applies to women as well.

[38] Borofsky, 91--92, describes learning new dance moves in a modern Pukapukan setting.

[39] Ruth Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality* (Oxford, 1988), 95--101; Malo, 140 fn. 6; S.M. Mead, 'Imagery, Symbolism and Social Values in Maori Chants', *JPS* 78, 3 (September 1969), 399--401.

Similar practices also occurred in the oral poetry of Africa. E.g. Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality*, 71--76; *Oral Poetry* (Cambridge, 1977), 73--86. One is reminded that a poet such as Robert Burns also created his poems entire before committing them to paper.

Whether or not a song would be remembered and transmitted depended on an audience's reaction to its literary merit and emotional force.[40] Judging from the impact of songs amongst New Zealand Maori the music, the social rank of the composer and the subject of the composition were contributing factors to a song's continuing popularity.[41]

A song by Inangaro of the Tepei tribe in Mangaia shows the kind of impact a composition could have.[42] After a battle with the dominant Tonga'iti tribe the Tepei had been defeated and its members forced to subsist as best they could. Inangaro was fed by Kurauri, or Puiariki, of Tonga'iti, until he was betrayed and offered as the inaugural sacrifice for the new *mangaia.* Kurauri appeared at the sacrificial rites. She was ordered back as women were not ordinarily allowed to attend these ceremonies. However Kurauri ignored the command. She wrapped Inangaro in mourning cloth and 'gave vent to her grief in the song which Inangaro had composed for her in happier days'. The chiefs and warriors in attendance listened 'with undisguised admiration' and the composition soon became one of the 'literary treasures of the tribe'.[43]

Such was the work's impact on its listeners that one of them, Iro, later 'recollected' it after his exile and arrival at Rarotonga. Descendants continued to sing the piece into the mission period. Visiting Mangaians were 'not a little surprised' to learn that one of their compositions was known in another island.[44]

The successful introduction of Christianity in 1824 did not spell the end for Mangaia's traditional knowledge or its continued transmission. The public festivals were early banned by the mission because of the alleged obscene suggestions in the dancing and the dedication of the entertainment to the tribal gods.[45] Nevertheless, some facets of the festivals such as the intertribal gathering, the feasting, the stress on displaying personal attire and the erection of special buildings were continued in the Church's May festivities and school gatherings to commemorate the introduction of Christianity.[46]

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[40] E.g. **M&S**, 271.

[41] Mead, 381--83.

[42] The tribal name Tepei is also spelt Teipe in both the published and unpublished literature on Mangaia. In general I have favoured Tepei throughout this thesis since this is the form more often used by Mangaian writers. The form Teipe is cited when it is the spelling adopted in a quotation.

[43] **DL**, 88--95. Numangatini stated that women were not allowed at the rites on a *marae.* However, allowance would have to be made for those women who were *ariki pa tai* or who, like Kurauri, doubtless won the right by sheer strength of personality. **Life**, 148--49.

[44] **DL**, 95--96.

The main focus of these events was on church services and the associated singing; however, even these solemnities fulfilled some of the functions of earlier times. Most of the speakers at the service were Mangaian ministers or chiefs who more than likely interspersed their statements with references to traditions and customary practices.[47] The songs too--at least for the school gathering--were well practised; Gill reported that the children had been preparing for two months. Twenty two songs were performed in 'friendly rivalry' at the single event; the whole lasting some four hours.[48] If lacking the drama and the comedy of the earlier plays the history, the singing skills, the assiduous practice and the competitive element remained.

Whether any dramatic performances were allowed in the nineteenth century is difficult to say on present evidence. Apparently something like this took place at a Rarotongan May festival. Recounting the Rarotongan myth of Pe'u Gill noted that he had seen 'a most effective scenic representation of this legend at their May festivities'.[49] Perhaps something similar did occur on occasion in Mangaia? Given Gill's interest in the island's culture it may even be possible that certain dramatic performances were re-enacted for or tolerated by him.[50]

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[45] Ibid., 252--53 and fn. 1; Marivee McMath and Teaea Parima, 'Winged Tangi'ia: A Mangaian Dramatic Performance', MS, n.d., 1.

[46] Ibid., 35 fn. 4. Descriptions of these May festivities in **Life**, 52--59; Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts: Radical Change in the Cook Islands*, trans., annotated and ed. Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe (Fiji, 1983; reprint, 1987), 125--28 (Paras. 343--48); SSL, WWG, 28 May 1854; 1 July 1857; 20 March 1861.

[47] Examples of such preaching in **Life**, 116--53; **DL**, 367--82; **Jottings**, 76--118.

[48] **Life**, 57--58.

[49] **Jottings**, 98.

[50] Some of Gill's performance notes for the Cook drama are in the present tense. See **DL**, 254--58.

An association with pagan beliefs would not necessarily have been a barrier. Gill encouraged the re-roofing of the Oneroa church in which traditional lashing was used even though the sinnet had been closely associated with a couple of Mangaian gods.[51] He considered the effect 'very unique and pleasing'.[52] One of his predecessors, William Gill, had spoken of the Mangaian skill at tattooing with admiration and openly questioned the zealous attempts by indigenous church leaders to suppress it as being excessive, even counterproductive to the spread of Christianity.[53] McMath and Parima have stressed the continued presence of non-Christian Mangaians well into the nineteenth century, rightly pointing to the possibility that such festive events may have been continued amongst them.[54] Published mission statements concerning the total suppression of local cultural practices must always be taken with a grain of salt.

Public dramatisations have taken place in more recent times. A revival of the so-called Nuku was reported in 1944. This was described as 'a Polynesian mission-prototype of the "morality plays" of Medieval Christianity'. Three 'playlets', probably one from each village, were performed on biblical themes: the Prodigal Son, Nebuchadnezzar and the Wedding Feast. They were enacted in the open without any scenery or effects though the players wore costumes made from sheets and quilts.[55] More recently the annual Nuku celebrations have incorporated dramatisations of old legends (*peu tupuna*).[56]

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[51] **Life**, 54. The gods were Motoro and Tāne-kio. **DL**, 332.

[52] SSL, WWG, 20 March 1861.

[53] *Gems from the Coral Islands*, II, 143, 166--67.

[54] McMath and Parima, 35 fn. 3.

[55] 'Revival of the "Nuku"', *Pacific Islands Monthly* (September 1944), 15. The article was probably written by Edwin Gold.

[56] The same kind of dramas are enacted in Atiu. Stephenson, 119.

In 1973 a meeting of the *tumu kōrero* in the Ivirua-Karanga districts of Mangaia decided to perform the Tangi'ia legend as part of a Nuku celebration.[57] Once the selection was made the *kōrero* discussed it among themselves until agreement was reached as to the story's precise details. Collective decision making characterised all the play's planning and preparation. Actors were expected to improvise, especially in dialogue. The text was established in response to the reactions of the audience at rehearsal rather than the dictates of a script. As a consequence, language skills were an important consideration in the selection for parts. Some aspects of the work were more fixed, in particular, such matters as action-miming to which considerable attention was paid by various specialists. The performance was reminiscent of Gill's descriptions: a large number of participants; the use of choral and solo parts; percussive musical accompaniment; the inclusion of songs and chants; the deploying of historical and mythical information; and a strong sense of comedy.[58]

McMath and Parima have pointed out that the story as depicted in 1973 did differ in some respects from the account collected by Gill: the tribal god had become the Christian god; Tangi'ia was no longer a *pi'a atua* but a winged demon. Nevertheless, they have argued for a strong sense of continuity. The essential account, namely, Tangi'ia's threat to eat children and his subsequent poisoning remained basically intact. The preparation of the *kava* offering containing the poison continued to be accurately mimed. More importantly, the symbolic concepts underpinning the work continued to express cultural values both old and new: tribal conflicts, drunkenness, marital and sexual tensions, chiefly and priestly authority.[59] For the younger generation these enactments and school cultural lessons are the only sources of traditional knowledge.[60]

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[57] McMath and Parima. It would appear that this legend was also enacted in 1985. Niel Gunson, personal communication, December 1989. Gunson thought the performance was more a form of morality play. A nineteenth century version of the legend is recorded by Gill in **DL**, 143--45.

[58] McMath and Parima, 3, 5--6.

The selection of the Tangi'ia legend by the local *kōrero* implies that some categories of knowledge continued to be transmitted after the establishment of Christianity. The pastor Mamae, Gill's informant, undoubtedly derived his knowledge from his grandfather Koroa.[61] Mamae in his turn may be assumed to have been the source for the traditional knowledge his son Aiteina provided Te Rangi Hiroa. The modern *kōrero*, according to Clerk, received their knowledge on an individual basis from their parents. Some of it at least seems to have been in the form of family history books and oral tradition.[62] The instruction by parents or grandparents, both of history and more day to day practicalities, is a common practice in Polynesia.[63]

The modern Mangaian *kōrero* transcripts provide some additional information on the processes of transmission and reception:

> *Tuaia e te au korero metua/ tataia e Tere Aratangi*
>
> Told by the old *kōrero/* recited by Tere Aratangi[64]
>
> *Uriuri ia ete au Korero tataia e T. Aratangi*
>
> Passed around by the *kōrero*[,] recited by T. Aratangi
>
> *Na te au are korero [o] Mangaia/ Tataia e Tere Aratangi*

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[59] Ibid., 32--34.

[60] Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 41.

[61] **DL**, 318 fn. 1.

[62] Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 41. Compare the situation on Mangaia with that in Rurutu where only written versions exist. Babadzan, 178--79, 182.

[63] The modern transmission of knowledge has been particularly well studied for Pukapuka by Borofsky, especially chapter 3.

Other modern and historical examples: Best, *Maori School of Learning*, 25; *Maori*, I, 394--95, 411; Oliver, 429--31; Levy, 451--52; John Papa Ii, *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, trans. Mary Kawena Pukui, ed. Dorothy B. Barrère ([Honolulu], 1963), 20--32; Wendt in Subramani, *South Pacific Literature: From Myth to Fabulation* (Suva, 1985), 33; Johnny Frisbie, *The Frisbies of the South Seas* (London, 1961 [1959]), 54.

[64] The verb *tata* may mean recite or write, see Savage, 361. Assuming an oral performance I have opted for the former meaning.

By the *'are kōrero* of Mangaia/ Recited by Tere Aratangi[65]

The references to the 'korero metua' ('old *kōrero*') hint at a transmission to the present storytellers from an earlier body of experts. However, as these quotations show, the experts were not necessarily the parents as Clerk had suggested. Some of the modern traditions appear to be the common production of all the *kōrero*; the term 'uriuri' suggesting a group effort similar to the production of the Tangi'ia legend. Aratangi's prominence reveals something of her own authority as a *kōrero*. Her knowledge is inherited from earlier, often dead experts; an example of the ongoing transmission of tradition.

Whereas these processes of transmission imply continuity some scholars have suggested that Christianity undermined the retention of traditional knowledge. Gill trumpeted that, 'the Bible is read, studied, and quoted by the Polynesians of to-day in place of heathen songs and myths of bygone ages'.[66] Te Rangi Hiroa considered that the increasing domination of the Bible eclipsed the passage of traditions by the *'are kōrero* 'in a regular way'. 'The converts', he added, 'became interested in the wars and taboos of the Old Testament and even in its genealogies'. More worrying he thought was the efforts made to fit 'native myths and tradition' to the Bible accounts.[67] Clerk suspected biblical influence in a version of the counting of fishes by Avatea (Vātea).[68] Such an interest may account for the Mangaian opinion Gill recorded that a particular tradition was but a distortion of a biblical narrative.[69]

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[65] MK, 'E Tua teia no te Anau Tamaiti'; 'Te Mateanga o Kokiri'; 'E Mire teia no te Ara'. Similar notes can be found in other accounts: 'Tua ia [e] Akaiti Ponga/ Tataia e T. Aratangi' ('Told (by) Akaiti Ponga/ Recited by T. Aratangi'); 'Na Nga Kaokao, tataia e T. Aratangi' ('By Nga Kaokao, recited by T. Aratangi'); 'Tua ia e T. Aratangi' ('Told by T. Aratangi'); 'Tuaia e Ravengenge Rakauruaiti/ Tataia e Tereevangelia Aratangi' ('Told by Ravengenge Rakauruaiti/ recited by Tereevangelia Aratangi'); 'Tua ia e Akaiti Ponga/ Tataia e Tere Aratangi' ('Told by Akaiti Ponga/ recited by Tere Aratangi'); 'Uriuri ia e te au korero/ Tataia e T. Aratangi' (Passed around by the *kōrero*/ recited by T. Aratangi'). MK, 'Te Oi'; 'E Mire teia, no Miru'; 'Te Paopao'; 'Te Tua ia Panako'; 'Te Aanga Taro a Te Vaki'; 'Te Umu Tangata Mua i runga ia Auau Enua' and 'Te Rua o te Umu Tangata'.

[66] **DL**, 352--53.

[67] **Advent**, 658.

[68] 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 385.

Nevertheless, such comments should be read in context. Local people are certainly devout; however, some very devout people will also retell traditions with great relish and not a little pride. The fitting of texts to a gospel message that Te Rangi Hiroa worried about appears to refer to the exegeses by Mangaian preachers, such as Mamae, who incorporated historical traditions and customs into a Christian message. Despite Te Rangi Hiroa's fears a reading of the texts suggests a creative but respectful use of traditions in the service of Christianity.[70] As Gill explained: 'A native orator cannot open his lips save in parable, song, or proverb'.[71] Not only did the sermons sensitively interpret the traditions but broadcast them to a wider audience than the more private instruction by the *kōrero* would have permitted.[72] The Bible did not spell the end of earlier traditions.

The continuity of Mangaia's traditions is borne out by the existence in the nineteenth century of the sorts of changes that occurred during the 'normal' transmission of knowledge. Gill enumerates cases where differing versions existed of Mangaian traditions. These were sometimes different tribal interpretations. Such variants may continue to a limited degree even today.[73] Names of characters might be dropped out of stories; new names might be substituted for the old; whole songs might be forgotten.[74] Kurauri, it should be noted, had sung her lover's composition with her own additions.[75]

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[69] **M&S**, 148. Even today many women will spend their leisure reading the Bible. In Rarotonga I saw a woman actually go and get the Bible to quote at her husband whom she was berating for his drinking.

[70] E.g. **DL**, 370--72; **Jottings**, 99--102.

[71] Ibid., 73--74.

[72] They also remain a valuable source of ethnographic information for the present day researcher.

[73] **M&S**, 44, 95, 155, 156, 162--63, 236--37; Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 398.

[74] **Life**, 324--25; **DL**, 191, 223.

[75] Ibid., 95.

These changes in the traditions could lead to a contest over the information amongst the *tumu kōrero*.[76] Such a contest fulfilled a similar consensual function to the group discussions of *kōrero* about the Tangi'ia legend. However, as Borofsky observed, challenges and criticism also acted as a 'stimulant to learning', developing a greater fund of knowledge than any one individual could possess.[77]

The nineteenth century also witnessed the introduction or creation of new stories in Mangaia. Clerk relates an account of a manifestation in a chicken of a minor Rarotongan *atua* (deity), Ta'akure. Other stories developed around supernatural forms (*tūpāpaku*) of introduced domestic animals. New proverbial expressions developed that referred to introduced animals.[78] The new geographical horizons opened up by contacts with the outside led to new interpretations being made of older local traditions. Gill noted that since the introduction of Christianity many Mangaians had begun to believe that the Samoan island of Sava'i was in fact 'Avaiki, a belief to which he lent credence.[79]

Mangaia's stock of traditions has more than likely always been subject to change, loss, and creative reassembling. Christianity has simply added a new--albeit significant--factor to this process. Whether one recounting of history can be said to be more reliable or historically valid than another can only be tested by the comparison of specific texts.

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[76] **M&S**, 117, 162 fn. 1.

[77] Borofsky, 96.

[78] Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 346, 354--55, 528.

[79] **DL**, 166--67.

PART TWO

TEXTS AND CONTEXTS OF MANGAIAN HISTORY

Until then I had thought each book spoke of the things, human or divine, that lie outside books. Now I realized that not infrequently books speak of books: it is as if they spoke among themselves. In the light of this reflection, the library seemed all the more disturbing to me. It was then the place of a long, centuries-old murmuring, an imperceptible dialogue between one parchment and another, a living thing, a receptacle of powers not to be ruled by a human mind, a treasure of secrets emanated by many minds, surviving the death of those who had produced them or had been their conveyors.

Adso of Melk, in Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*, 286

"If there's no meaning in it," said the King, "that saves a world of trouble, you know, as we needn't try to find any. And yet I don't know," he went on, spreading out the verses on his knee, and looking at them with one eye; "I seem to see some meaning in them, after all. '*--said I could not swim--*' you can't swim, can you?" he added, turning to the Knave.

The Knave shook his head sadly. "Do I look like it?" he said. (Which he certainly did *not*, being made entirely of cardboard.)

"All right, so far," said the King; and he went on muttering over the verses to himself: "'*We know it to be true*'--that's the jury, of course--'*If she should push the matter on*'--that must be the Queen--'*What would become of you*?'--What, indeed!--'*I gave her one, they gave him two*'--why, that must be what he did with the tarts, you know--"

"But it goes on '*they all returned from him to you*,'" said Alice.

"Why, there they are!" said the King triumphantly, pointing to the tarts on the table. "Nothing can be clearer than *that*. Then again--'*before she had this fit*'--you never had *fits*, my dear, I think?" he said to the Queen.

"Never!" said the Queen, furiously, throwing an inkstand at the Lizard as she spoke. ...

"Then the words won't *fit* you," said the King looking round the court with a smile. There was a dead silence.

"It's a pun!" the King added in an angry tone, and everybody laughed. "Let the jury consider their verdict," the King said, for about the twentieth time that day.

Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*

FOUR

A MANGAIAN ORIGIN MYTH

Most constructions of Mangaia's past begin with a narration of its Creation. While this is an obvious starting point the focus upon the Mangaian Genesis has, nevertheless, marginalised other stories which tell about the structurings of the island's history. One is the brief 'miscellaneous myth' by Gill: 'Echo; or, The Cave Fairy'.[1]

Gill centres this story in the mythical origins of Mangaia: 'Rangi was the first man; for Vātea was half man and half fish'. Rangi was the offspring from the incestuous union of Tavake with her father Rongo, the divine son of Vātea; Rangi and his brothers, Mokoiro and 'Akatauira, were the original settlers on Mangaia.[2] So much mythological knowledge is already assumed in the reader. Instead, Gill proceeds to describe the character's interior state:

> When Rangi complacently surveyed the land which he had succeeded in dragging up from the shades, he resolved to explore every nook and corner, to ascertain whether there were any other inhabitants in his territory.

His perambulations continued; the reader's attention is concentrated upon a description of the geography of the island. The text stresses the lack of other inhabitants until the important encounter with the island interloper.

The next segment, initiated by the shifter 'here', takes the form of a dialogue between Rangi and this interloper upon his solitary ramble. Rangi becomes steadily more annoyed at the replies coming, he and the reader learn, from a female. The questions and answers are attempts at identification. Rangi is unable to discover the woman's name; he curses her, and nicknames her '"Aitu-mamao"' or, according to Gill's narration, '*the-ever-distant*, or *the-hide-and-seek-spirit*'. However, what was intended as the decisive riposte is immediately turned back upon itself when the woman returns the curse 'in exactly the same tone and words'. The reader already suspects the situation since the story is headed 'Echo'. Rangi, denied the benefits of such helpful authorial intervention, can only feel he has been 'unceremoniously distressed' and a slur cast upon what Gill, using a Western term, calls Rangi's 'illegitimate origin'. This insult marks a natural break in the narration.

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[1] M&S, 114--117. A briefer version of this story was published as 'Echo: or, The Cave Fairy: A Legend from Mangaia', *Sunday at Home (SH)* (1894): 825. A number of segments were cut out of this magazine article. The wording was also changed; however, the story line remained the same.

[2] M&S, 16.

Rangi who is identified as the 'first sovereign of Mangaia' resolves to locate this insulter. His identification as 'sovereign' also greatly increases the stakes of the contest with Aitu-mamao. This shift to a new segment is confirmed by the use of the shifter 'now' in the text, suggesting a new beginning to Rangi's actions, and to the progress of the narration. 'Cautiously leaping from boulder to boulder' he and the reader are led into a cavern; the source of the sarcastic replies to his continuing inquiries. He is taken aback by the stalagmites and stalactites and as he 'instinctively retreated a few steps' he, and the expectant reader, are favoured by 'a glimpse of the face of a female fairy, heartily laughing at his terror'. The laughter ends this segment.

The next segment, the successful identification, marks the high point of the narration.

> As soon as Rangi recovered his equanimity, he inquired the proper name of this formidable apparition. Her reply was, "I am *Tumuteanaoa*," or Echo (literally, "the-cave-speaking-sprite")'. "I am the being that everywhere inhabited the rocks of Mangaia ere you set feet on the soil."

Tumuteanaoa has not only identified herself but established her chronological priority to Rangi's arrival on the island. The segment switches to Rangi's response; the reader should notice that the reply is set off from Tumuteanaoa's answer by another 'now'-shifter:

> Rangi now asked whether she had any children. Echo replied, "I have a very numerous offspring, named *Tumu-te-erue ma*, or Earth-diggers." "Where are they?" demanded the inquisitive king. "They are on the mountains, roaming about in the fern," replied the complaisant spirit of the cave.

The narration moves at this point to a new segment marked by a further 'now'-shifter. Rangi leaves 'Echo' and searches for her children. He soon encounters them everywhere; they immediately acquire a name, rats, accentuated by italics. Rangi again turns to an interior musing which Gill allows the reader to be privy to: 'Rangi wondered that the progeny were so unlike their mother, who could on no account be persuaded to leave her favourite haunts in the rocks.' The narration is then abruptly shifted to an authorial observation situated in the nineteenth century present of the composition. The cave in which the momentous encounter took place is still called, according to Gill, Aitu-mamao.[3]

The rest of the text is in the nature of a coda. A paragraph relates other encounters with Echo's progeny. The actual end of the story emphasises that Mangaia was already inhabited before Rangi arrived. The final termination is marked by two segments adjoined to the main text but separated by line breaks. The first refers to the existence of a learned debate amongst 'the sages of former times' as to whether Rangi could, after all, really be described as the 'first inhabitant of Mangaia':

> They came at last to the conclusion, that whilst Rangi was the first *man* and king, Echo was the first and parent *fairy*--the numerous sprites inhabiting rocks, valleys, hills, and streams constituting the prolific progeny of "the cave speaking sprite."

The second addendum mentioned that Marquesans too referred to a similar figure called Echo.

Structurally this story can be conveniently divided into a sequence of segments.

I OPENING
1. Mythological setting: Rangi identified.

II RESOLUTION I
1. Exploration of new land.
3. Description of land: no other inhabitants.

III ENCOUNTER I
1. Identification: unsuccessful.
2. Insult: cursing.
3. Identification: provisional naming (nickname).
4. Return of insult.

IV RESOLUTION II

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[3] In a footnote Gill intrudes explicity by relating an exploration he and James Chalmers, the missionary, made of this cave:

> We sung [*sic*] a number of hymns, and were delighted to hear, at a great height above our heads in utter darkness, a most perfect echo--as if an unseen choir were singing in perfect unison with our torch-lit company.

The hymns doubtless laid a pious claim upon the place though the accompanying Mangaians who obviously made up the group are textually invisible. The error noted in this quotation was corrected in the *SH* article.

1. Additional identification of Rangi.
2. Interloper sought out.
3. Discovery of interloper.
4. Rangi laughed at.

V ENCOUNTER II

1. Identification of interloper.
2. Identification of progeny.
3. Identification of progeny's land.

VI ENCOUNTER III

1. Discovery of progeny: naming, 1.

VII AUTHORIAL INTERPOLATION

1. Nineteenth century observation.

VIII ENDING

1. Discovery of progeny: naming, 2.
2. Co-existence.

ADDENDA.

The diagrammatic segmentation betrays a series of historically significant structures in operation. At the level of the story itself the reader is presented with an interpretation of the first settlement and exploration of Mangaia. Rangi, the first settler, explores the new land and meets its original inhabitants. In the course of several encounters and attempted identifications he is able to learn about the island and to assess its inhabitants. He is not completely successful; the indigenes are presented as besting him on occasion and retaining their independence. Nevertheless, in the final analysis Echo and her progeny do not disturb him or present difficulties. The founding father will ultimately be able to establish himself successfully.

The story of exploration, encounter and settlement is also one of contest. This motif is accentuated by describing Rangi as 'first sovereign of Mangaia'. The scene for conflict is set in the first encounter where Rangi, attempting to establish hegemony by the naming of what can only seem to be his opposition, is dealt a most ignominious blow when the circumstances of his birth are queried. In this account the insult prompts Rangi to renew attempts to name and thereby subjugate the insulter. Nevertheless even in so serious an endeavour humour is not disallowed. Rangi's ignorance of natural phenomena is made a subject of mirth for both the intruder and the reader. Licit laughter, at the expense of mythologically important characters, is not uncommon in Polynesia.[4]

The looming contest is however settled amicably. The intruder is named, her descendants identified. Rangi shares the island peacefully enough. The contest is instead shifted in an addendum to the realms of scholarly debate.

The conflict between explorer and indigene represents one view of the gender relationships in Mangaia. The male is sovereign but cannot fully overcome the female who retains her own sphere of influence; she lives in a cave from which she can never be persuaded to emerge, and possesses numerous progeny. This reflects the complementarity of the male and female roles that has been identified in earlier New Zealand Maori society.[5]

The gender roles envisaged in this narration depict the man as invasive; he came from outside the island, though in this account he had actually 'discovered', i.e. hauled up, the island from the other-world. The woman is indigenous; a native of the place.[6] No union is suggested in this text to symbolise the assumption of rule by the invader, rather, his continued occupation is a product of mutually assured tolerance.

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[4] There are many similar stories recounting the absurd or foolish things done by ancestors and culture heroes. See Bacil F. Kirtley, *A Motif-Index of Traditional Polynesian Narratives* (Honolulu, 1971), 372--77. Other examples of humour in traditions: Henry, 526; Sir George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, ed. W.W. Bird (Christchurch, N.Z., 1961 [1855]), 56 n.

Some of these instances set the illustrious character up in a socially absurd situation. In the Grey text just cited a chief is depicted as being asked to carry axes--the normal work of slaves. As the note commented this 'conveys impressions to their [Maori] minds of which we can form no accurate notion.'

Other texts play on a more earthy humour. A respected Ngati Porou elder, Arnold Reedy, elicited great gusts of laughter from a Maori audience by deliberately playing up ribald parts in a recounting of Tāne's creation of the first woman. Similarly in the story of Kae's killing of Tinirau's pet whale Kae is forced to laugh at 'a droll comic song'. The original Maori text is plainer; the song (or *haka*, i.e. action song) includes references to the female sexual organs. The English continues: 'They all began to sing together, at the same time making curious faces, and shaking their hands and arms in time to the tune'; an elaboration not in the Maori original. Doubtless the actions mimed the words only too well for Kae laughed and so doomed himself to Tinirau's retribution. See Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 72--73; *Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna*, ed. Herbert W. Williams, 4th ed. (Wellington, 1971 [1854]), 30.

[5] Hanson and Hanson, 20--22.

[6] Cf. Marshall Sahlins, 'The Stranger-King; or, Dumézil among the Fijians' in *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985). A MS collected by WWG tells a classic story from Ma'uke about an invading man and a local woman, daughter of the indigenous *ariki*, and their union, by which the invasive man becomes the island's ruler. See **G 45**, no title, n.d., 'na Teamaru i Mauke' ('by Teamaru in Mauke'). Another version, but with same theme in 'E Tuatua no te Tupuanga o Mauke'/'A Word about the Growth (History) of Mauke Island', *JPS* XX, 3 (Sept 1911), 134--36.

Another noticeable feature of this text is the contrast between the activity of Rangi and the passivity of Tumuteanaoa. He hauls the land up; he explores; he decides to find the intruder; he asks the questions. She simply graces a cave. Only her descendants are presented as active which is contrasted explicitly in the text with Tumuteanaoa's inaction.

At another level this story reflects a view of the natural and supernatural worlds. Rangi, although a mythological figure, is being contrasted with a 'fairy'--a supernatural being--and her animal offspring. The identification of Rangi as 'sovereign' and 'king' may suggest he is acting as an *ariki* whose primary task was to ward off such spiritual threats from Mangaia. Human settlement, the narration seems to suggest, may be fruitful but can never be entirely freed from these forces.

Occupying a position more marginalised than this 'miscellaneous myth' is a nineteenth century retelling by Mamae.[7] He appears to have written his version around the late 1870s or early 1880s.[8] The only Mangaian authority Gill suggests for his published text is the former *pi'a atua* and leader of Ngāti Vara, Tereavai.[9] If such is the case then Gill's version has to have been obtained before 1865 the year of Tereavai's death.[10] The two versions, though some years apart, both originate from Ngāti Vara.

Mamae's story is titled: 'E tara amo no teia enua nei' ('The tale concerning this land').[11] Its significance is revealed in the subtitle:

Koia oki te tara i te anau kiore, e te Tuna, e te kōkōpu, e te ngāvao, i raro i te vai.

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[7] **Mi 131, 132.** This text was cited by Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', passim, for its valuable mythological references to animals.

[8] The dated correspondence in **Mi 131, 132** was written between 1879 and 1881.

[9] Tereavai is acknowledged to have provided most of the material for *Myths and Songs*. **M&S**, xx.

[10] **DL**, 336.

[11] The full text is in Appendix C. Since the text has not been published and contains a number of important departures from the version told by Gill the following retelling will closely follow Mamae's text.

> It is also a story about the family (of the) rat, the eel, the *kokopu* [a gudgeon], and the *ngavao* [a fresh-water fish], under the water.

Mamae straightway places the narration within a spoken discourse: 'Tera te tuatua, i karangaia e' (literally, 'That is the speech, which says'). An oral form is to be rendered as written text. He identifies the characters: Tumuterue, a woman and daughter of Tumuteanaoa; and refers to the animal family mentioned above as 'e anau tuarangi' ('a divine (supernatural?) family'). The term *tuarangi* was used to refer to those spiritual forces which the *ariki* sought to repel from Mangaia. In a gloss Mamae elaborates upon the term *tuarangi*; 'no te mea e kakati i te tangata' ('because (they) bite people'). This ends the opening segment.

The next section is introduced by the shifter 'i tetai ra' ('one day'). Rangi had decided to travel all around the land and see what was there. However, he first went to tell his ancestor, Papa, that he was going to look at the place. He asked her whether any people lived there. Papa answered, confirming there were inhabitants and issued him with a series of instructions. First he was to light a fire. Mamae inserts an explanation for the word 'lighting a fire'.[12] Rangi was to keep travelling leftwards till he got to Tuaopapa. He was to go around the back of Tuaopapa, by way of Taa, along the cliff till he reached Tutāiore. There he was to stand and call out.[13] Rangi reached the place Papa had instructed him about. He stood and called out: 'Ōōi!' ('Acknowledge (yourself)'). Tumuteanaoa answered the call. Rangi asked who the person was. Tumuteanaoa answered with the same words. Rangi cursed the person 'tauna ea koe i te ai' ('Get cooked in the fire') only to hear Tumuteanaoa return the compliment. Rangi's anger grew. To take up Mamae's text:

> *Ua kino tona inangaro no tauna aia, no te mea e Ariki aia, e tangata tapu aia*

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[12] Mamae points out that 'tokāia' came from the verb 'tōkā'; he added the synonyms 'ta[']u' and the Rarotongan form 'tao'. The Mangaian for Mamae's interpolation reads: 'Ka aere ra koe a tokāia, (tera te tōkā) e tāū, e tao na to Rarotonga na'.

[13] The Mangaian for this part of the instruction reads: 'E na miri koe i te aere e na Taā, e na te pae mato, ia tae koe i tetai ngai i miri ake, tera te ingoa a taua ngai ra, o Tutāiore, e tu koe i reira, ei reira koe e ō ai'.

> His desire was bad on account of his being cooked, because he was an *ariki*, he was a sacred person.

Rangi returned to Papa and asked who the person was. Papa revealed that it was Tumuteanaoa. Rangi asked where she resided. Papa told him that she lived within the rocks, in a cave called Taiapiti. Mamae adds in brackets that this is in the Tavaenga district beyond Touri. Rangi returned and went looking for her in the cave Papa had referred to. He asked 'o korua korua koai?' ('the two of you, who are you? [meaning Tumuteanaoa and her daughter Tumuterue]'). Tumuteanaoa replied 'o matou o te anau' ('we [plural, excluding you] are a family'). Rangi asked 'teiia'i ratou' ('where are they'). Back came the reply 'tei te maunga' ('on the mountain').

Rangi went back and climbed up to the centre of the mountain where he sat down, naming the place after himself: Rangi-moti'a.[14] Mamae inserts a short explanation of the meaning for 'motia'.[15] Rangi looked to the left searching for Tumuteanaoa's family. He thought that the family was human. He did not realise that they were supernatural or that they were animals and fishes.

He turned, looking to the right, and saw (Lake) Tiriara in the Veitatei district. He descended a valley called Ikurui and saw at the bottom of the valley a water hole ('rua vai') issuing from the foot of the mountain.[16] He began digging. When he saw the water he recalled observing Lake Tiriara. He was not able to complete the digging because of the guardian-eel called Ka'u within the hole.[17] This was one of the children Tumuteanaoa had told him about. He went back to the mountain.

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[14] The climb up the mountain is dealt with more elaborately in the original:

> *Oki atura a Rangi, kake atura na runga i te maunga, i na te karava i te morava e tae atura i te kano i Rangimotia*
>
> Rangi goes back, climbing up the mountain, over the ridges and the *morava* [?] until [he] reached the *kano* [eye ? i.e. the centre] of Rangimoti'a.

[15] The Mangaian insertion reads: '[O ?] Motia, "E kano" ia nakoia, o Rangi i te kano' ('Motia is an eye, which is to say, Rangi at the eye [the centre of the mountain ?]').
Gill translated Rangimoti'a as '*The centre of the heavens*' (his emphasis). M&S, 17.

[16] The Mangaian for this phrase reads: 'Te pupu ua maira te vai no roto mai i te tumu a taua maunga'.

If Rangi had continued digging the spring up he would have been bitten by the eel.[18] As it was he was tired and covered with dirt. He washed the dirt off in the water and returned to the mountain where he had a rest. His bowels moved and he went to defecate.[19] Afterwards he came back and sat down again. Looking up at the place where he had defecated he saw a group of rats eating his faeces. He went to look. The rats were rushing about. When he looked his faeces had all gone. His anger welled up again just as it had with Tumuteanaoa. He was angry that the rats ate his faeces. Since he was an ariki his faeces too was sacred; it was *ariki* faeces.[20]

The next part of the text acts as a coda to the story being marked by the shifter: 'E tae akera i tetai ra' ('The day came'). Rangi encountered the rat again but this time he killed it and bore it off to Papa for her to eat ('ei kai na Papa').

Mamae ends the story at this point and introduces himself as author with the shifter 'ua taka ia au' ('as I understand'). He mentions Rangi's sacrifice in the battle at Teruanoninga in the Kei'a district and identifies Matoetoeā, slain by the Tonga'iti tribe. Mamae provides the story with a literary classification, calling it a 'tara keteamo' (literally, 'story carried (in a) basket'). He also comments upon the echo effect that could be obtained amongst the rocks along the cliff edge. Finally, he notes part of a song composed by Marokore where Tumuteanaoa is mentioned.

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[17] I have paraphrased the original text which reads:
Ua timata iora aia i te ko ia kite aia i te tapainga mai o taua vaira, ua maara aia e, no reira 'tu taua vai tana e kakaro atu i Tiriara ra, e kia ko aia, kare ua e mutunga o te vai, ko atu aia, ua tae mai, pera ua rai aia e kare rai e mutu, Tera te mea i kore ai e mutu te taē, te vai, e tiaki tei roto i taua rua vai ra, tera te tiaki, e Tuna, tera te ingoa o taua Tuna ra, o kaū.

[18] Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 363, suggests that Ka'u bit Rangi. The original Mangaian text, as I understand it, is more conditional: 'I naringa a Rangi i ko ua atu rai i taua rua vai ra, ua kakati ia aia e taua Tuna ra'.

[19] The Mangaian for the first phrase reads: 'Ua angaanga kino tona manava'. Savage explains that *manava* means 'heart'. Savage, 137. However WWG translated it 'bowels'. E.g. 'Kua pau ai tooku manava ē!' (WWG: 'My heart (literally bowels) yearns for thee!'). SSP 1, 'Rev W Wyatt Gill's M/S Book': 'No Te rangai. E tangi. Na Rakoia'. As WWG explained: 'These islanders, like the Hebrews of old, place the seat of the affections and intellect in the bowels'. WWG, 'Old Truths in New Lights: Illustrations of Scripture by Native Polynesian Preachers', *SH* (1874), 571. A similar meaning is found in New Zealand Maori. See Best, *Maori*, I, 310.

[20] The Mangaian reads: 'No te mea e tapu aia e Ariki, e tapu oki tona tutae e tutae Ariki'.

Mamae's story can be structurally segmented:

I OPENING

1. Explanation: Tumuterue, Tumuteanaoa.
2. Explanation: *'ānau manu='ānau tuarangi.*
3. Authorial gloss.

II RESOLUTION

1. Rangi decides to tour island.
2. Advice sought from Papa.
3. Papa confirms existence of islanders.
4. Papa instructs Rangi.

III ENCOUNTER I

1. Rangi follows instructions.
2. He encounters Tumuteanaoa, 1.
3. Attempted identification.
4. Curse: return of curse.
5. Rangi angry, 1.
6. Authorial gloss: infringement of *ariki* status.

IV ENCOUNTER II

1. Additional identification from Papa.
2. Papa names Tumuteanaoa.
3. Tumuteanaoa's location sought.
4. Papa identifies location.
5. Authorial gloss on location.
6. Rangi encounters Tumuteanaoa, 2.
7. Identification of family.
8. Identification of family's location.

V ENCOUNTER III

1. Rangi climbs mountain.
2. Mountain named.
3. Lake Tiriara discovered.
4. Mountain spring discovered.
5. Rangi digs.
6. Eel guardian encountered.
7. Rangi returns to mountain.
8. Failure to finish digging.
9. Implicit threat from eel.
10. Rangi washes himself.

VI ENCOUNTER IV

1. Rangi rests on mountain.
2. He defecates.
3. Rats encountered.
4. Rats eat faeces.
5. Rangi angry, 2.
6. Authorial gloss: faeces sacred.

VII ENDING

1. Rangi kills rat.
2. Rats offered to Papa as food.
3. Rangi fights Tonga'iti.
4. Natural phenomenon.
5. Song.

Mamae has linked his story more firmly to its mythical context than Gill. In order to situate both accounts within Mangaian mythological structures some elaboration of the wider body of tradition is required. Tumuteanaoa is depicted in Gill's recounting of Mangaia's creation myth as a daughter of Vari-ma-te-takere (The-very-beginning; more literally, The-mud-and-the-bottom). Vari is a 'demon' who plucks six offspring from her sides: three from the right ((A)vatea, Tinirau and her last child Tu-metua); and three from the left (Tango, Tumuteanaoa and Raka). Vātea, the first born, is the father of humanity. Tumuteanaoa is the fourth child. It is represented as a female who lives in 'Te-pārai-tea or *The-hollow-grey-rocks*' in 'Avaiki.[21]

Te Rangi Hiroa gives another version of this myth. Tumu-te-anaoa is a female, the first child plucked from the left, and second in birth order to her brother Vātea. The changed order makes her appearance in Mamae's story much more intelligible. For Tumuteanaoa is in fact Vātea's *tua'ine* (brother's sister) and the *tuakana* (older sister) to her female sibling, the sixth child, Tu-metua. She is therefore Vātea's proximate equal as the first born female.[22] This equivalence is neatly captured in Mamae's 'Bishop typescript':[23] 'Avatea no te pae katau o Vari, Tumutea-naoa no te pae kaui' ('Avatea is of the right side of Vari, Tumuteanaoa is from the left').[24]

Te Rangi Hiroa put Tumuteanaoa in the same land as Gill did, though the locality's spelling was slightly varied to Te-Parae-tea. In Mangaia Tumuteanaoa is associated with certain locations, most notably, the inside-facing cliff of the *makatea* and Lake Tiriara.[25] Both are associated together in the *rapeuru pae uta* (or *piriaki*) ecological zone.[26]

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[21] M&S, 2--5.

[22] MangS, 11.

[23] This is an alternative description of B.

[24] **Bmm.** The other versions of the Mangaian genesis story add little more except to confirm Te Rangi Hiroa's birth order. E.g. M: 'Tera tei aru mai ia Vatea, ko Tumu-te-anaoa Tera tona enua ko Te paraetea' ('That which followed Vātea was Tumuteanaoa. Her land was Te Paraetea'); MK: 'Te Rua o Tumuteanaoa tona enua Paraetea' ('The second (child) was Tumuteanaoa, her land was Paraetea'). However MK is at variance from the other texts in also appearing to situate Tumuteanaoa as 'e vaerua rai' ('a great spirit') along with Vari and Te Tangaengae. MK, Iviiti Aerepo, 'Te Kapua anga Tangata o Auau Enua'. Other accounts state that there were four spirits: Te-aka-ia-Roe, Te Tangaengae, Te Manava-roa and Vari. See MangS, 9; M&S, 2. Tumuteanaoa is a *daughter* of the last *vaerua.*

The *makatea* is probably the most visually striking geographical feature on the island. P. Marshall, a geologist, described it in 1923:

> The Makatea on Mangaia is a circular platform of limestone bounded on the inner and outer sides by cliffs. The outer cliff at the landward edge of the Terrace Slope is nearly 70 feet high, and for the greater part of the circuit of the island it is practically perpendicular. ... . In its original condition the cliff is extremely difficult to climb. ... . Viewed from the top of the cliff the general surface of the Makatea appears from a distance to be almost level, but an attempt to cross it reveals its extraordinary roughness. ... . The surface is formed entirely of hard, splintery limestone projecting everywhere in sharp serrated pinnacles ten to fifteen feet in height and is trenched by numerous crevices with vertical or even overhanging sides, many of them expanding into caves of irregular form and extent. The whole Makatea structure is riddled with chasms, while vertical pinnacles and palisades with needle-like projections and razor edges are found everywhere in extravagant profusion. And this intricate rocky maze is covered with a tangle of interlacing vegetation, making a surface almost impossible to traverse.[27]

The inner facing cliff of the *makatea* has a large number of cave openings which provided a hiding place for tribes defeated in war; shelter from hurricanes; and a source of stalactites and stalagmites which provided building material and stone pounders (*reru*).[28]

The identification of Tumuteanaoa as Vātea's *tua'ine* brings into this mythological review another important character in Mamae's account, Papa--Papa-ra'ira'i--the ancestor of Rangi. Papa is the wife of Vātea and the grandmother of Rangi. The stories of Vātea, Papa and their sons Tangaroa and Rongo are retold in all the structurings of Mangaia's mythological past. However in the present context of Rangi and Tumuteanaoa the story of Vātea's encounter with Papa is most apposite.

Papa had been visiting Vātea at night but would always disappear with the coming of day. Vātea decided to seek her out. He prepared a bait of grated coconuts and by this means was able to discover that she lived in a cave. When she returned a second time for more coconut they met. They became husband and wife. Vātea learnt her name and those of her parents and the name of their land.[29]

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[25] Ibid., 117; **DL**, 32; Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 371.

[26] Mark, 75.

[27] P. Marshall, *Geology of Mangaia*, BPBMB 36 (Honolulu, 1927), 20.

[28] **MangS**, 5; Mark, 67--68.

The initial encounter, as with Rangi and Tumuteanaoa, is ultimately unsuccessful. The coupling is at night; doubtless furtive and secret. Vātea does not learn the woman's name. Like Rangi Vātea sets out to track his elusive opposite. He too encounters her and finally succeeds in learning her name. Papa like Tumuteanaoa is elusive and resides literally in the land. However, unlike Tumuteanaoa and Rangi, in Papa's case there is a physical union between her and the male intruder.

In the 'Mormon manuscript'[30] the similarity to the encounters and identifications between Rangi and Tumuteanaoa are more striking. Unlike the sources for the previous summary the Mormon text reports the identification of Papa and her parents in the form of a dialogue:

> *Kua eke atu ra aia i raro i te [taeva], e īnā, e vaine te kite mai ra iaia, kua ui atu ra aia "ko ai toou ingoa?" Kua na ko mai ra aia ko Papā toku ingoa. Koai toou metua vaine? Kua nako mai ra aia ko Tamaiti-nga-varivari. Koai toou metua tane. Ko Timate-kore. Kua rave iora aia ta Papa ei vaine nana, e kua moe atu ra ia Papā.*
>
> He went down to the cavern, and lo, he saw a woman, he asked 'what is your name?' She replied, 'My name is Papa'. 'Who is your mother?' She replied, 'Tamaiti-nga-varivari'. 'Who is your father?' 'Timate-kore'. He made Papa his wife, and slept with [her].[31]

Another similarity emerges in the Mangaian Korero recounting. The author, Iviiti Aerepo, has Vātea, like Rangi, travelling around similar parts of the island naming various locations as he went.

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[29] **M&S**, 7--9; **G 45**, 'Pee Pue Kapa'; **MangS**, 14; **Bmm**.

[30] An alternative description for **M**.

[31] **M**, 3. In **MK** the order of questions are reversed Vātea asking the father's name before enquiring after the mother's. However, the dialogue form remains:

> *Kua ui atu a Vatea koai toou ingoa kua pau mai aia ko Papa, kua ui akaou a Vatea koai toou metua tane, kua pau mai aia ko Timatek[o]re, kua ui akaou a Vatea koai toou metua vaine. Ko Tamaiti-Ngavarivari, Kua rave aia ia Papa ei vaine nana*
>
> Vātea asked 'what is your name?' She replied, 'Papa'. Vātea again asked, 'who is your father?' She replied, 'Timatekore'. Vātea again asked, 'who is your mother?' 'Tamaiti-Ngavarivari'. He made Papa his wife.

> *Kua akamata aia i te kimi i teia vaine tana i kite i roto i te orama i raro i te au taeva o te moana ... kua ope te au taeva o te moana aia i te kimi kare rai i kitea. Tae atu aia i te enua o Tumutevarovaro. Kua kake aia i uta kua tapa aia i te ingoa o te Ava o [Avana?] akaau aia i te marae ei akairo no tona tae anga i Tumutevarovaro tapa aia i te ingoa Te tapu-o-Vatea.*
>
> He went looking for that woman he had seen in the dream in the caverns near the sea ... at the end of the caverns he still had not found her. He reached the land of Tumutevarovaro. He climbed inland and called the opening (*ava*) [Avana?]. He planned (*akaau*) a *marae* as a sign of his arrival at Tumutevarovaro. He called it Te tapu-o-Vātea.[32]

The final principal character is Rangi himself. In Mangaia he is considered a founder of the original Ngāriki tribe, the first *mangaia* and the first *ariki pa uta*.[33] In genealogical terms he is connected to all the participants in Mamae's account.[34]

Relating the broader mythological context to the specific texts by Gill and Mamae requires a thorough exegesis. Mamae's opening, initially characterised in its title as a form of nature documentary, quickly amends any such impression by explaining that the 'anau manu' ('the *manu* family') is an 'anau tuarangi' ('a divine (supernatural?) family'). Of course this explanation is only of benefit for the reader; Rangi, Mamae notes later, had thought the family were human beings. A parallel error by Rangi is found in Gill's rendering where Rangi, unlike the reader, did not initially know of Tumuteanaoa's existence.

The two texts also have different openings. Mamae rhetorically positions Tumuterue and Tumuteanaoa at the beginning of his narration. Gill focusses on Rangi. The identification of the two women is left to the highpoint mid-way through Gill's account.

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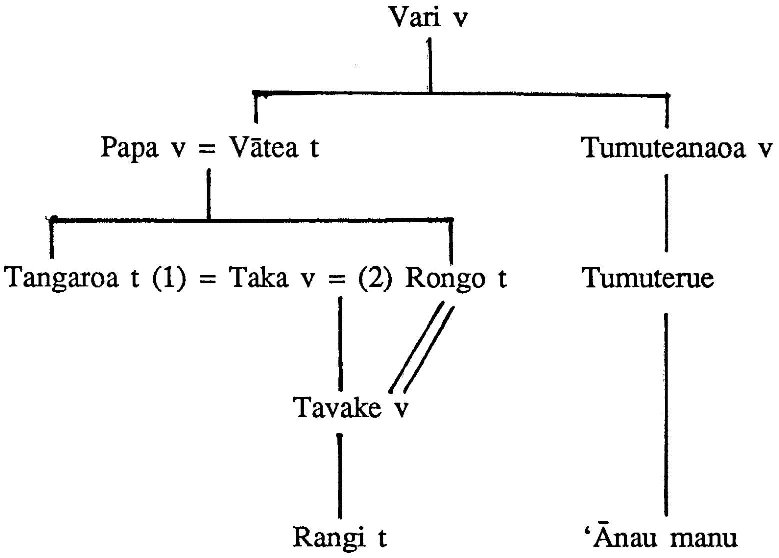
[32] MK, Iviiti Aerepo, 'Kapua anga Tangata o Auau Enua'. Tumutevarovaro seems to be treated as another form of Tumuteanaoa. The etymologies confirm their similarity: Tumu-te-varovaro=The cause of the hollow, booming sound; Tumu-te-ana-oa=TeRH: 'The cause of the call or voice heard from caves'. See **MangS**, 11. (Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 371, tentatively renders Tumuteanaoa as 'origin of the shouting cave'.) A connection between the two beings would make the linkage between the two stories even more explicit.

However, according to Gill, Tumutevarovaro (Echo) was the 'spirit name' of Rarotonga. M&S, 16 fn. 2; SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'. The use in **MK** of Tumutevarovaro seems to result from a greater Rarotongan influence on Mangaian traditions since the nineteenth century. However, it is possible that the *tumu kōrero* considered the word was indigenous; Gill himself mentions a cave on Mangaia called Te Varovaro (The Whistler) which, unfortunately, he could not locate. See **DL**, 187.

[33] **M&S**, 18--20; **DL**, [308], 315; **Mi 131, 132**, List of Battles by Mamae.

[34] See Figure 3 for a genealogy.

Figure 3: Genealogy of Rangi and Tumuteanaoa[35]



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[35] More detailed genealogical diagrams, derived from the data in Gill and Te Rangi Hiroa, are in Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 367; Mark, 140.

Even then he treats them differently from Mamae. Gill names the mother, Tumuteanaoa, but only identifies the offspring as 'Tumu-te-erue mā' ('Tumuteerue and the others'); in other words, Tumuteerue acts as a tribal designation whereas Mamae had treated her as a female and daughter.[36]

The description of Tumuteanaoa's descendants is important for two reasons. The term *'ānau* signifies the familial links binding human beings and animals. They share the same kinship terminology and the same ancestors.[37] Tumuteanaoa is Vātea's *tua'ine.* Tumuterue is therefore his *tama'ine* (classificatory daughter). His *mokopuna* include her family of animals.[38] However, they are also set off from each other by the animals' status as *tuarangi.* The same threat was the concern of the highest *ariki*; in this instance, Rangi. The scene is set in Mamae's recounting for a climactic struggle, established in the last line of his opening: 'No te mea e kakati i te tangata' ('Because (the animals) bite people').

The scene of this family conflict is completed with the introduction of Rangi and Papa into Mamae's text. Vātea, Tumuteanaoa and Papa are *tupuna* (grandparents) to Rangi. He shares the same potential status as the *'ānau manu.* Yet Papa retains a primacy of intimacy; it is to her that Rangi time and again resorts. Vātea along with Rangi's own parents, Rongo and Tavake, are not even mentioned in Mamae's text. Instead, Mamae rhetorically positions Tumuteanaoa and Papa opposite one another.

Gill in his text ignores the narrative complexities of Mamae's family conflict. He simply depicts the struggle as a contest for Mangaia between Rangi, the first explorer, and the aboriginal Tumuteanaoa and her animal kin.

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[36] Gill and Mamae also differ in their spelling of the daughter's name. Gill writes it, Tumuteerue; Mamae spells it, Tumuterue.

[37] Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 102, points out that contemporary Mangaians when talking about animals use kinship analogues such as *kōpū tangata* to describe a shared animal category or 'kind'. The term *katiri* (a group of descendants from a common ancestor) is also used figuratively for animals. He further notes the mythological references to animal kin, e.g. "te 'anau ika a Tinirau" "The fish children of Tinirau".

[38] The two texts by Gill and Mamae do not make Tumuterue's maternity absolutely clear. However part of a separate text, a chant, confirms the link: 'E kiore roa anau pakipaki/ na Tumuterue' ('A long rat born prematurely/ Of Tumuterue'). **Mi 131, 132**, no title, first line: 'Anau te tama i mua e!' ('The son is born first').

The contrast between the two narrations continues. Rangi, according to Mamae, visits Papa and asks her whether any people live on the island. Papa confirms that there are. In Gill's retelling Rangi, with no recourse to a benevolent grandmother, is totally surprised when he first encounters Tumuteanaoa. Mamae's insertion of Papa initiates a sequence not represented at all in Gill's account.

Papa's first instruction to Rangi is to light a fire. Apart from the authorial gloss there is no further mention of this action. The reader is to assume that Rangi must have done what he was told once he reached Mangaia. However, the act of making a fire is more crucial than its brief appearance would suggest.

New Zealand furnishes examples where lighted fires denoted land occupation. Various expressions were used to describe this principle such as 'ahi kā roa' ('long burning fire'), or the phrase 'i ka tonu taku ahi i runga i toku whenua' ('my fire has ever been kept alight upon my land').[39] A closer parallel to Rangi's fire-lighting is suggested by one of the first actions the crew of the Te Arawa canoe carried out upon their landing in Aotearoa (New Zealand):

> The canoe landed at Whangaparaoa so that the weary crew might rest. ... . Tamatekapua [the commander, i.e. *ariki* or chief] had a piece of ground cleared so that a sacred structure could be built where they could offer up thanks for their safe journey.[40]

What the 'sacred structure' was is made clear in an account of the early explorations by some of the new immigrants. Ngatoroirangi, the canoe's priest--paralleling Rangi as *ariki pa uta*--travelled about the island. Everywhere he went he set up *tuahu* to mark his possession of the land.[41] The *tuahu* was the sacred place of Maori, synonymous with the *marae* in Mangaia.[42] These *tuahu* nearly all had small fireplaces where the *ahi tapu* (sacred fires) were lit. These played an important part in the various rites practised in such *wahi tapu* (sacred places).[43] Viewed in this light it appears Rangi may have been carrying out some ritual appropriate on first arrival when he lit the fire as Papa instructed.

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[39] Douglas Sinclair, 'Land: Maori view and European response', *Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On*, ed. Michael King (Wellington, 1975), 120; Raymond Firth, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (London, 1929), 378.

Other examples where fires were lit on arrival to claim the land, or where fires were taken as signs of existing occupation (and title to land) are in Waerete Norman, 'The Muriwhenua Claim', *Waitangi: Māori and Pākehā Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi*, ed. I.H. Kawharu (Auckland, 1989), 195; D.R. Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth: A Study of the Discovery and Origin Traditions of the Maori* (Wellington, 1976): appendix A, J.M. Jury's manuscripts, 327 (Maori)/343 (trans.), 331/347; D.M. Stafford, *Te Arawa: A History of the Arawa People* (Wellington, 1967), 33.

[40] Ibid., 17.

The rest of the instructions detail the route Rangi is to take in his journey. Travelling instructions are a feature of some exploration traditions.[44] Papa has him travel near the parts of Mangaia with which Tumuteanaoa is traditionally associated: along the

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[41] Ibid., 21ff. In his discussion of *tuahu* Prytz Johansen refers to the initial 'sacred structure' set up by the Arawa as a *tuahu* and connects this with land ownership. See J. Prytz Johansen, *Studies in Maori Rites and Myths*, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Bind 37, nr. 4 ([Copenhagen], 1958), 73--74. A similar use of sacred structures (*marae*) to indicate land ownership in Henry, 141.

The events recounted in Stafford reveal Ngatoroirangi as a powerful *tohunga*; he was able to summon his sisters from Hawaiki by incantation to provide him with warmth when he was dying of exposure on Mount Tongariro in the volcanic plateau of the central North Island (Te Ika a Maui). During the voyage from Hawaiki he changed night into day and summoned up winds to drive the ship upon a shoal to avenge himself upon the ship's commander, Tamatekapua, who had had illicit intercourse with the *tohunga*'s wife. However, Ngatoroirangi heeding the cries of the people felt *aroha* (sympathy) and saved them by reciting *karakia* (sacred chant). See Stafford, 15--16. A slightly different version is retold in Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 110--112; *Mahi*, 60--63.

[42] Traditions from the Cook Islands and elsewhere relate how immigrant ancestors first established *marae* upon their arrival thereby implicitly claiming the land. E.g. **DL**, 57; **MangS**, 173--74; Best, *Tuhoe*, 724; L.G. Kelly (Te Putu), *Tainui: The Story of Hoturoa and his Descendants*, Polynesian Society Memoir No. 25 (Wellington, 1949), 63; Major J.T. Large, 'Some Notes on Atiu Island', *JPS* XXII, 2 (June 1913), 68, 69; Henry Nicholas, trans., 'Genealogies and Historical Notes from Rarotonga', Part I, *JPS* I, 1 (April 1892): 23 (Maori)/26 (trans.); 'Genealogies and Historical Notes from Rarotonga', Part II, *JPS* I, 2 (July 1892): 66/70, 67/71.

[43] Best, *Tuhoe*, 1075, see also 1115ff; Prytz Johansen, *Maori Myths and Rites*, 71--72. A similar use of ritual fire was observed elsewhere. E.g. Henry, 133, 147, 168, 172, 204; Valeri, 43, 57, 293, 338.

[44] E.g. Thomas S. Barthel, *The Eighth Land: The Polynesian Discovery and Settlement of Easter Island*, trans. Anneliese Martin (Honolulu, 1978), 54. Originally published as *Das Achte Land* (Munich, 1974). Also see Best, *Tuhoe*, 717, 915, 919; Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 70; Henry, 456.

A number of exploration stories begin with a child getting precise instructions on how to locate its long-absent father including instruction on how to build a canoe for the forthcoming trip. E.g. Henry, 498--502; Kelly, 13, 34ff.; More-taunga-o-te-tini, 'Ko te Are-Korero teia no Rata-ariki'/ 'The Rarotonga Version of the Story of Rata', coll. and trans. S. Savage, *JPS* XIX, 3 (Sept 1910), 146--48/161--63; Jeffrey Sissons, Wiremu Wi Hongi, and Pat Hohepa, *The Pūriri Trees are Laughing: A Political History of Ngā Puhi in the Inland Bay of Islands*, Polynesian Society Memoir No. 46 (Auckland, 1987), 63. Some exploration traditions, such as the stories regarding the migration canoes to New Zealand, stress a prior explorer whose descriptions prompt the new voyagers. E.g. Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 106ff; Kelly, 43.

'pae mato' ('side of the cliff'); a reference to the inner facing cliff of the *makatea*. As Mamae pointed out in his ending a person walking there could hear his voice echo amongst the rocks. The leftwards progression may also be significant. Ethnographic evidence reports ritual circuits around the island by the *ariki pa uta*; unfortunately, the direction is not specified.[45] Tuaopapa, the first designated destination, lies in the Tavaenga district. Taa may refer to a valley in Veitatei.[46] Gill states that the northern half of the island is referred to as the left side suggesting that Rangi travelled by way of Karanga, Ivirua and Tamarua districts.[47] It is possible that the termination of such a progression would be in Kei'a, long regarded as the most *tapu* district on the island since the principal *marae* of the high priests, Akaoro and Orongo, were located there.[48]

The two narratives retell Rangi's first encounter with Tumuteanaoa differently. Both represent Rangi as making the initial enquiry and seeking a name. Gill however adds a third stage: '"Whence do you come"'. A question which is redundant in Mamae's account since Rangi would already expect this so far unnamed respondent to be the person Papa had told him was living on the land.

In Gill's account Rangi is clearly vexed: 'Instead of a satisfactory reply, came the defiant query'; 'Rangi bursting with indignation, now demanded'; 'the ears of Rangi were assailed'--the language of conflict. Mamae simply reports the questions and Tumuteanaoa's imitation of them. He sees no need to rhetorically heighten the encounter.

In contrast Gill underplays the cursing which is the dénoument of this ultimately unsuccessful meeting, only mentioning that 'he cursed the hidden inhabitant of the cave'. Whether Gill felt a diffidence in publishing a curse that might affront the domestic circle, or simply abstained from quoting it for stylistic reasons, or was not told the curse in the first place is hard to say. Instead he focusses upon a provisional naming. However, Gill has fudged the sequence of the verbal exchange. The provisional naming cannot have been uttered at this point since in the next line Rangi hears his curse echoed back to him by Tumuteanaoa.

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[45] E.g. M&S, 298--99.

[46] P. Marshall, map; see Maps of Mangaia, pp. xvii--xviii of this thesis.

[47] M&S, 129.

[48] MangS, 174--75; Bellwood, 159--61.

Mamae provides a clearer exchange. The curse is pronounced and returned. There is no mention of a provisional name. For Gill the curse was upon Rangi's origins. Mamae suggests it is the traditional insult; connecting the quintessential non-*tapu* activity, cooking, to a person's body--a Polynesian obscenity.[49] So it appears to have been viewed by Rangi who flew into a rage, implying that hitherto he had not--an important departure from Gill's text. Mamae too has brought out the importance of Rangi's status as *ariki*. A feature which Gill does not mention until the following segment.

Gill's use of the terms 'sovereign' and 'king' is also misleading in Mangaian terms; did he mean the *mangaia* or an *ariki*?[50] No clarification is offered to the reader. The evidence suggests that Rangi held both titles. Mamae's use of the word *ariki* implies that he is stressing the sacerdotal role. The earlier linkage made with his *tapu* nature would tend to support this view. The Mangaian ethnographies emphasise the highly sacred qualities of the *ariki*: they could not be tattooed; they did not participate in war; they were immune from assault while fulfilling their priestly functions; the *mangaia* during such ceremonies had to approach them on all fours.[51] Given such intense sacredness a reader can better appreciate how incensed Rangi must have been when verbally assaulted by Tumuteanaoa's curse.

The distinctive features of the two narrations become very obvious at this point. In Gill's recounting the curse initiates a sequence of actions which will carry the reader through to the end of the story. For Mamae the narration is far from reaching that stage.

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[49] E.g. **G 45**, 'E Eva Tapara ia Atiroa'; **M&S**, 281--82; J. Prytz Johansen, *The Maori and his Religion* ([Copenhagen], 1954), 211--12; Simmons, 155; Alpers, 21. A list of Mangaian curses, including references to cooking and eating bodies, in SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'.

[50] The later *SH* version of this story clarifies the terminology, employing 'king' exclusively.

[51] **DL**, 317; **M&S**, 293; **MangS**, 113--14.

Defeated in his attempt to name the opponent Rangi consults Papa again--a structural repetition. This segment also emphasises how much Mamae plays Papa and Tumuteanaoa off against one another; a classic instance of a structural opposition. Papa can straightway identify Tumuteanaoa because they both share an identical status as women of the land.

The mountain, Rangimoti'a, forms a dominant part of Mamae's narration. On the *maunga* (mountain) Rangi surveys the land searching for Tumuteanaoa's family which she has told him lives there; he discovers the lake, a valley and a waterhole issuing from the mountain. This is also the scene of his first attempt to change the physical environment by digging the waterhole up. This effort may mark an initial attempt to establish the irrigation system which is so distinctive a feature of the island today.

Mamae further highlighted the mountain by having Rangi name it after himself; a common method of asserting ownership over land by a Polynesian explorer. In New Zealand an explorer would take possession of newly discovered land under the custom of *taunaha whenua*, i.e. reserving the land by naming it after a portion of his body.[52] 'Man', in Prytz Johansen's felicitous phrase, 'extends into his name'.[53] Gill however treats the *maunga* as a unimportant feature of the general environment; he even leaves it unnamed.

Gill's underplaying of the mountain obscures its true significance for Mangaians in the past or today. Mark uses the term *maunga* to describe Mangaia's innermost ecological zone which encompasses the upper valleys (*vao*) and the valley streams (*kau vai*) as well as the *maunga* proper. Rangimoti'a forms the very centre of this zone and of the island.[54] Allen describes it as 'a long narrow, flat topped ridge. On either side the heads of the valleys which radiate from this point drop sharply away'.[55] Another description situates more fully the scene of Rangi's later encounters with Tumuteanaoa's offspring:

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[52] Walker, 407; R.G. Crocombe, *Land Tenure in the Cook Islands* (Melbourne, 1964), 20, 50. Exploration and naming traditions can be found everywhere in Polynesia. E.g. Martha Beckwith, *Hawaiian Mythology* (Honolulu, 1970), 363--64; Henry, 459ff.; Kelly, chap. 4; Katharine Luomala, *Voices on the Wind: Polynesian Myths and Chants*, illust. Joseph Feher, rev. ed., Bishop Museum Special Publication 75 (Honolulu, 1986), chap. ii; Stafford, chap. 4.

[53] *Maori and his Religion*, 120.

[54] Mark, 51, 81--87.

> The tops of several spurs are either flat surfaces or wide gentle slopes. The highest spur flats are at a slightly lower level than the plateau summit, but those nearer to the peripheral portion of the volcanic land are distinctly lower. All the larger streams of the island take their rise from the edge of the Central Plateau, the middle of which is called Rangimotia.[56]

The mountain is also the source of all fresh water (*vai*) and the locus for the wedge-shaped division of the island into districts (*puna*).[57]

Rangimoti'a, as the furthest point away from the sea, is the most inland (*uta*) that a Mangaian can go.[58] Not surprisingly the place was especially associated with the *ariki pa uta*. It was, before the change to Christianity, 'considered very sacred', i.e. *tapu*. There the *ariki pa uta* ceremonially invested a warrior with 'the sacred girdle', presumably a special and highly *tapu maro*, before the *toa* went to locate the human sacrifice to inaugurate a new *mangaia*.[59] The mountain's sacred status may suggest that Rangi's washing episode after digging the well and before reclimbing the mountain was in the nature of the cleansing practised by priests before important religious ritual.[60] In this case the dirt itself ('repo') may have been considered defiling.[61] Water often has a strong purificatory role. As Hanson and Hanson observed for New Zealand:

> Water ritually prepared for and marked a change of condition. It washed away the characteristics of one's former state, and thereby paved the way for the institution of a new one.[62]

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[55] Allen, 8.

[56] P. Marshall, 36.

[57] Mark, 112; **MangS**, 127.

[58] Mark, 43.

[59] **M&S**, 147.

[60] E.g. **MangS**, 186; Henry, 157; Best, *Maori*, I, 266--67.

[61] Cf. Oliver, 69. In Hawaii Malo, 56, noted that a man entering an *ali'i*'s (chief's) house whose head was smeared with mud would be put to death.

[62] Hanson and Hanson, 77.

The mountain is also the venue for Mamae's second assault upon Rangi, though it was not as serious as the first by Tumuteanaoa, or the last perpetrated by the rats. A guardian eel, identified as Ka'u, a descendant of Tumuteanaoa, threatened to bite him. This incident is not referred to by Gill.[63]

The fresh-water eel (*tuna*) is an important animal in the Mangaian environment. The eel, prawns (*koura vai*) and the gudgeon (*kokopu*) are all found in the upper valley streams where today they are caught by young, unmarried males (*mapu*), though they do not form part of the regular diet.[64] The *ngavao*, a fresh-water fish like the *kokopu*, probably lives there as well.[65] The *kokopu* is also found in Lake Tiriara.[66] They are all members of Tumuteanaoa's *'ānau manu.*[67]

The *tuna* and the *kokopu* are not classified by present Mangaians as *mangaika* (fish), suggesting their inland status makes them an inapt fish category.[68] Mamae described them as *manu* (animals, or more accurately, birds and larger land animals).[69] The fresh-water eel is also distinguished from marine eels; the latter is more readily classified as *mangaika.*[70] The *tuna* was also strongly marked, historically, by a rigid prohibition on their consumption by women. So strong was this sanction amongst pre-Christian Mangaians that some women today are still known to have a strong aversion to it. Clerk records a case where one female informant fled from him when he attempted to get her to identify a dead fresh-water eel.[71]

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[63] WWG does, however, refer elsewhere to an enormous freshwater eel god which was believed to lie in watch in Raupa, a burial cavern, for corpses whose flesh it ate. **DL**, 169.

The eel-guardian Ka'u is still identified by modern *tumu korero.* He is said to manifest himself inland and in the ocean. He promotes success in fishing and similar activites being invoked as 'Ka'u mango' ('Shark Ka'u') and inland as 'Ka'u tuna' ('Eel Ka'u'). Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 397. Information from the *tumu kōrero* Tiriamai Naeiti.

[64] Mark, 85.

[65] Te Rangi Hiroa, MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 3.4, Cook Islands Field Notes, iv, p. 72, BPBML. The *ngavao* is only mentioned by Mamae. TeRH noted that it was the fish used to test 'the poisoned bowl', apparently a reference to the incident where the *pi'a atua* Tangiia was poisoned by Marere, of the 'Akatauira, a division of the Ngāriki. See **DL**, 144.

[66] Te Rangi Hiroa, *Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands*, 244.

[67] **M&S**, 117; Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 371.

[68] Ibid., 88.

[69] For definition see ibid., 79, 82; Savage, 139.

[70] Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 192.

Amongst Mangaians, at least until the nineteenth century, the eel like the shark (*mango*) was regarded as an aggressive animal. Specifically, the eel, as represented in mythological texts, was seen as sexually aggressive towards women:[72] in Clerk's terms, 'a phalliform intruder into the female realm'.[73] Clerk tentatively links this animal aggression to the very positive valuing given in Mangaian society to the *toa* or the warrior.[74] In Mangaia the status of the warrior developed to a higher degree than in some other Polynesian societies, leading it to be described as an extremely 'open' society where genealogical seniority was partly overshadowed by military and political ability.[75]

A linkage between the *tuna* and the qualities of a warrior seems strengthened by Mamae's account where the eel threatens Rangi, the *mangaia*, a position usually attained by force of arms. Significantly, the assault is only potential, never followed through. For the eel to defeat the *mangaia* would result in a very different island history.

The third assault is the most violent attack upon Rangi. Again it takes place in the *maunga* zone; judging from the description it is nearer the centre, Rangimoti'a, than the encounter with the eel. Gill refers to a meeting between Rangi and the rats on the mountain in his story. However he handles it rather differently than Mamae does: 'He [Rangi] had not advanced far up the side of the nearest mountain, trampling down the fern and tall reeds, when he came upon a troop of these "earth-diggers," or *rats*!"'.[76] Gone is

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[71] Ibid., 329--30.

[72] This connotation is common in other parts of Polynesia. E.g. Beckwith, 102--104; Best, *Tuhoe*, 945; Henry, 615ff.

[73] 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 394--98.

[74] Ibid., 394.

[75] Irving Goldman, *Ancient Polynesian Society* (Chicago, 1970), 20--21, 76, 85; MangS, 110, 161; Buck to Stimson, 24 February 1932, MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 10, BPBML.

[76] M&S, 116.

the consumption of Rangi's faeces; perhaps it was a mite too explicit for the nineteenth century 'consumer' of ethnographic literature. Yet the omission of this incident robs the segment of its most significant motif: the attack upon the *tapu* person of the *ariki pa uta*, Rangi.

The choice of faeces as the object of the rat's attack is not arbitrary. In parts of Polynesia the disposal of excrement, like other bodily emissions, was surrounded by precautions since such waste could be used by sorcerers. In New Zealand the Maori latrine (*heketua*) was treated with some care, being positioned at a remove from a settlement as it was considered a portal to the other-world.[77] Such practices may help explain why Rangi defecated away from his resting-place. References to faeces were also used to demean chiefly status or divine beings.[78] The supernatural status of the rats would imply a form of magical attack was made, as in sorcery, on the faeces as a means of destroying Rangi's *tapu* person.[79]

The pre-contact rat (*kiore*) is another significant animal category in Mangaia. Like the eel the rat is defined as a *manu* and as a member of Tumuteanaoa's *'ānau manu.* Traditionally it inhabited the *maunga* and the *makatea.* The rat was also a favoured food source, acting as a substitute protein staple to fish until missionaries discouraged their consumption during the nineteenth century.[80] A possible term for catching rats, *tautai*, is usually associated with fishing. Mangaians appear to distinguish between two forms of

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[77] E.g. Hanson and Hanson, 78--86; Prytz Johansen, *Maori Rites and Myths*, 93--112; Henry, 204; Oliver, 472. The last two sources do not specify excrement by name but Henry refers to *tupu* such as 'saliva or any other emanation from the body' being used in witchcraft.

[78] E.g. Henry, 196, 480; **G 45**, 'E Eva Tapara ia Atiroa'; **M&S**, 281; Malo, 55.

[79] In the Society Islands the indigenous rat, the *iore-ma'ohi*, was considered 'a shadow of ghosts'. When it visited human beings at night the rat was considered to be 'communicating mysteries and reminiscences of war and times of peace from dead warriors to living men'. However, when it visited a sick person the rat was considered to be 'the shadow of a devouring ghost' announcing imminent death. See Henry, 383.

[80] Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 50, 79, 275, 323; Mark, 91--92.

tautai: *tautai enua* (land fishing) being applied specifically to rats and land crabs.[81] Apparent confirmation of the connection between fishes/fishing and the rat arises in Mamae’s story.

Mamae relates that Rangi eventually slew the rat and took it to Papa to eat.[82] This action resembles part of the ritual for the human sacrifice to inaugurate a new *mangaia*. According to Gill after the dismemberment of the body at the Orongo *marae* the corpse was left as the ‘"ika aua na Papa", or fish-refuse thrown to Papa’ which she was supposed to consume.[83] However the fish symbolism could be replaced by that of the rat. Rangi’s first and unsuccessful sacrifice to Rongo was a rat; elsewhere Gill noted that ‘a cooked boy would be indifferently called a ‘fish’ or a ‘rat’’.[84] The connection between fish and rats is revealed in a song referring to the death of men in battle.

Titi ara kōkōpu e	Titiara and Kokopu
Maua e	Are caught
...	
Ua pau maira i te mate	Consumed in death
Viri ake te kiore	The rat is squirming
Ina kōkōpu, e Ina ō!	As Ina’s fish in a net
Te ngurengure kiore	The rats are squeaking
Te ngurengure kiore	The rats are squeaking.[85]

Mamae’s reference to Rangi offering a rat to Papa could therefore be a mythological explanation for the ritual act--a Malinowskian charter.[86] Rangi as the officiating priest offers the *ika* or *kiore* to Papa as the sacrifice required to inaugurate the *mangaia*, namely, himself. This segment of Mamae’s story is clearly the true end of his account.

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[81] Clerk, ‘Animal World of the Mangaians’, 88, 247. Te Rangi Hiroa considers that only land crabs are covered by the term *tautai enua*. Hunting rats would appear to have another descriptive name. See *Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands*, 247.

[82] It may be significant that one of the places listed in Papa’s instructions to Rangi, Tutāiore, may be translated ‘stand (*tu*)[and] kill (*ta*) [the] rat (*‘iore*)’.

[83] M&S, 295--305; MangS, 113.

[84] DL, 126; M&S, 289; SSSP Newell 9, ‘Ara Mangaia’.

[85] G 45, ‘E Eke, no Ata raua o Tukua’; DL, 306. Partially derived from translation by WWG. *Titiara* = a species of fish; *Kokopu* = a small freshwater fish. Savage, 111, 386. Gill translated the ‘rats’ in the last lines as men.

[86] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Myth in Primitive Psychology* (New York, 1926), 19.

Previous scholars, Mark and Clerk, in reviewing the creation myths such as the story of Tumuteanaoa have emphasised a relationship between the geographical location of the characters and their position in the social and political order in Mangaia. Clerk put it plainly: 'Polynesian materials urge us to look towards issues of power, status, and rank'.[87] Both writers stressed the inferior position of Tumuteanaoa as female; her association with the inferior ecological zone, the *makatea*; and with the inferior or substitute food resources.[88] However the acceptance of male=high status and female=low status is not supported by the story of Rangi and Tumuteanaoa.

Instead of viewing men and women on some singular sliding scale this story suggests that a model of sexual complementarity is more satisfactory.[89] Rangi might have inaugurated his own reign as *mangaia* by sacrificing one of Tumuteanaoa's descendants; nevertheless another descendant, the *tuna*, achieved a situation of martial equivalence. Tumuteanaoa's ecological zone of the *makatea* might not have been the preferred food zone yet it was a recognised refuge for the defeated. Until the twentieth century the chiefs, the former aspirants for the title of *mangaia*, could not even claim rights over such land.[90] It is still today a place which all Mangaians use; unlike zones such as the sea, restricted to men; or the taro-growing swamp identified specially with women.[91]

In the pre-Christian structuring of the past Tumuteanaoa appears to have acted as a mythological restraint on the powers of the *mangaia*, the *toa* and the collective *ariki*. For the powerless in Mangaia the refuges in her *makatea* must have been a very real 'godsend'.

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[87] 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 406.

[88] Mark, 188 fig. 10, 189; Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 372.

[89] E.g. Hanson and Hanson 20--22.

[90] **Advent**, 689--90; **MP**. In this last reference Te Rangi Hiroa cites the example of Tangi Vaipo, the *kavana* (district chief) of Ivirua, encroaching up the Vaiaua valley. He was resisted by Tuta'i and told to go back to his lands in the taro-growing areas: 'Public opinion asserts that Tuta'i was right and that Tangi was grabbing the land of the *'ao* [the landless refugees]. Unfortunately, Major Large the Resident Agent of the day, sided with the dominant chief. Tangi is reported to have told his friends that he would never have secured the land had he not been good friends with Large'. Vaipo appears to have encroached upon another neutral area, the *maunga*, which also has associations to Tumuteanaoa through her *'ānau manu*.

[91] Mark, 185--86, table 9.

As historical texts the two accounts by Gill and Mamae share a number of common structurings of the past. Both authors retell a version of Mangaia's discovery, exploration and conquest. Both phrase it in terms of a contest. They suggest that neither Rangi and Papa as invaders nor Tumuteanaoa and Tumuterue nor the *'ānau manu* as defensive occupiers succeed in totally defeating the other. The fauna and the human characters seem instead to reach an uneasy truce. This historical interpretation of the relationship between Mangaia's human population and its surrounding environment is also closely linked to a second level of conflict between human beings and the supernatural. Mamae makes this much more explicit by his references to the 'anau tuarangi' and Rangi as a 'tapu' *ariki.*

Gill's narration puts forward an interpretation of gender relations in the contest between Tumuteanaoa and Rangi. This theme persists in Mamae's version but if anything the playing field of interpersonal relationships is rendered more complex by the inclusion of Papa and the accompanying mythological context. Mamae suggests a stronger connection exists between Rangi and his paternal grandmother than with his paternal grandfather's sister. There may also be a hint of potential conflict between a wife marrying-in and the husband's sister who as female *tuakana* has her own status within the family. It is interesting that Tumuterue, who is the classificatory daughter of Rangi's grandfather, does not seem to enter into conflict with Rangi except through her own descendants.

The greatest difference between the two texts lies not so much in their historical interpretations or even in the structuring of their stories as in their respective ethnographical richness. Gill mentions many of the same elements but the reader does not perceive their significance for the story until reading Mamae's account. Rangi's tour in Gill's rendering takes on the form of an afternoon ramble whereas Mamae plainly turns it into a Polynesian story of exploration and settlement with the characteristic instructions to claim the land and to travel by a certain specified route.

Mamae too plays up the contest for the island into a structured sequence of interlinking conflicts between different characters each of whom has an ethnographic signification. Gill is handicapped in how far he can develop the motif of the contest by his attenuated list of *dramatis personae*; by his underplaying of key physical features such as the mountain; and by his omission of such vital details as the curse, the encounter with the eel and the consumption of Rangi's excrement. How far such apparent bowderalisation is a product of Gill's authorship or that of his supposed Mangaian contributor, Tereavai, cannot be gainsaid.

As writings upon the theme of history the story of Rangi and Tumuteanaoa reveals a more complicated picturing of the past than Gill's label of 'miscellaneous myth' is willing to allow. Instead it acts, in its present textual form, as an interpretation of Mangaia's early settlement and the establishment of its future cultural practices.

FIVE

'TE ANAU TUARANGI, *THE HEAVENLY FAMILY*'

The *tuarangi* of Mangaia are supernatural beings. In Mamae's retelling of the founding of the island they were associated with the deity Tumuteanaoa. They interfered in the human settlement of Mangaia: a supernatural category of beings opposing humanity. The threat from the supernatural which human beings lived under is a theme repeated throughout a number of texts retelling Mangaia's past. The *tuarangi* play an important part in these stories.

A comparison between the English and Mangaian sources which describe the island's supernatural entities reveals ambiguous or variant usages. Mamae identified animals as *tuarangi* and stressed their malevolency. Other references emphasised different applications. Textual allusions to beings in the otherworld make it plain that a number of different terms existed: *atua*, *io*, *vaerua*, *ta'ae*, *tapairu* as well as *tuarangi*. Some were alternative names for the same entity while others referred to different beings. A far more complicated texture is being woven than Mamae's recounting of Tumuteanaoa's *tuarangi* family suggests.

Ignoring the diversity of definitions raised in the island's cosmological configurations mutes the colourings in narrations of the past. All the supernatural beings affected in one way or the other, for better or for worse, the life of Mangaia's human community. Understanding the Mangaian conceptions of the supernatural, and trying to illustrate how they were conceived and understood to operate, better situates their appearance in the island's historical texts.

A generic term for supernatural beings in Mangaia, as in other parts of Polynesia, was *atua*. Gill called it 'the great word for God [*sic*] throughout Eastern Polynesia'.[1] In

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[1] M&S, 33.

New Zealand *atua* were ‘god(s)’ or, ‘anything believed to possess supernormal power’; an *atua* could range from the so-called Supreme Being Io, to a mysterious epidemic or other malign influence.[2] The Society Islands glossed *atua* as ‘spirit’, contrasting it with ta‘ata (human beings).[3] In the Cook Islands an *atua* was a ‘god’ or ‘deity’. According to Savage it also denoted a ‘demi-god’ or ‘supernatural being’.[4]

Mangaia, like other Polynesian societies, differentiated between types of *atua.*[5] Mangaian *atua* were rated according to their degree of influence upon human lives. The ‘"dwellers in the day"’ were the most active gods in the community. Gill described them as ‘continually busy in the affairs of mortals; moving, though unseen, in their midst, yet often descending to "night," or to Avaiki, the true home of the major divinities.’ Such beings hovered in the air, hid in unfrequented caves, or took possession of men and women. They were usually divinities of human origin. These influential gods comprised all the tribal deities apart from Rongo.[6] The second category, ‘"dwellers in the shades, or night"’ preferred to dwell in ‘Avaiki, though making forays to Mangaia. A subsidiary category, apparently also ‘"dwellers in the shades"’, preferred to always remain in ‘Avaiki. This would have included Mangaia’s principal deity, Rongo.[7]

Mangaians further differentiated their gods according to whether their worshippers could be ritually sacrificed or not on the occasion of the inauguration of a *mangaia. Io ora* (living gods) referred to deities, such as Motoro, whose worshippers could not be sacrificed.[8] The followers of the *io mate* (dead gods) were eligible for sacrifice.[9] *Io* was the 'constant equivalent' to the term *atua.*[10] It was sometimes used as an alternative term in Mangaian song poetry.[11]

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[2] Best, *Maori*, I, 234.

[3] Oliver, 56--58.

[4] Savage, 52.

[5] E.g. Best, *Maori*, I, 234--40; Oliver, 56--58.

[6] A list of the thirteen gods in **DL**, 331--33.

[7] **M&S**, 32.

[8] Motoro’s status also appears to have been enhanced by a number of *tapu* restrictions that surrounded it. See SSP 1, ‘Rev W. Wyatt Gill’s M/S Book’.

Whereas *atua* and *io* were generic terms for deities, *vaerua* referred specifically to the 'spirit' or 'soul'. The New Zealand *wairua* or 'soul' meant the spirit which finally quit a body after the person's death. The *wairua* could also travel about in space while a person slept when it was only seen by *matakite* (seers).[12] The Society Island *vārua* appears to have had similar qualities.

Rarotongan Maori defined *vaerua* as a 'spirit, ghost, astral body; the spirit or soul, as of man'.[13] Other Cook Island texts support this notion. An Aitutaki story about

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[9] Ibid., 27--28; **Jottings**, 110--11. Te Rangi Hiroa spells these terms with a glottal: *i'o ora, i'o mate.* **MangS**, 166, 180. Gill's proposed etymology for *io* has been queried. He had defined it as the '"*core*" or "*pith*" of a tree', adding 'analogically, God is the pith, core, or *life of man.*' In **Jottings** Gill expanded on this: 'What the core is to the tree, the god was believed to be to the man. In other words, the gods were the life of mankind.' Savage, 72, incorporated the 'pith or core' meaning and added: *I'o*, the 'supreme god of the ancient Polynesian race'; *io'ora, io-ora* 'the living essence'; *i'o* 'that which proceeds from living matter, more especially with reference to the human being'. However Stephenson Percy Smith, the New Zealand ethnologist, doubted that *io* meaning 'god' was derived from *io* meaning 'core or heart'. He thought that Gill had simply mistaken two words of the same sound. S. Percy Smith to C.E. Nelson, 16 November 1889, PS 1187/ 145, NLNZ, ATL.

[10] **M&S**, 33. The Mangaian use of *io* has to be differentiated from the New Zealand Io. Around the turn of the century, New Zealand ethnologists such as Best adduced information for a supreme deity in Maori cosmology called Io. Io was 'the true origin of all life and all entities'. Best, *Maori*, I, 89. Later scholars, such as Te Rangi Hiroa, reckoned this was a post-European development heavily influenced by Christian teachings. *Coming of the Maori*, 531--36.

A more balanced evaluation by Prytz Johansen admits the evidence points to a late development but stresses that the Io myth owes more to authentic Maori than Christian beliefs, especially in its role as a 'ritual myth'. 'Fairly certainly there must have existed, perhaps only for a short time, a real, living Io religion, which on essential points bore a pure Maori stamp.' *Maori Rites and Myths*, 36--61.

Maori scholars continue to elaborate Io as a genuine part of their cosmology. A recent published example is derived from the Ngapuhi tribal *wananga* (school). Maori Marsden, 'God, Man and Universe: A Maori View', *Te Ao Hurihuri*, 210--214.

Papa Aratangi notes that some present day Mangaians believe such a god, Io, existed on Mangaia. However, the evidence seems to rely on the definitions by Gill and Savage and on the New Zealand ethnographical writings referred to above. 'Transformation of the Mangaian Religion', 6--7.

[11] E.g. **M&S**, 295; **G 45**, 'Karakia no te Ika Akatangi Pau'. The line reads 'atia te īō, te io no Rongo' (WWG: 'Doomed to sacrifice by the god Rongo').

[12] Best, *Maori*, I, 300.

[13] Savage, 446.

Tekauae's descent to the otherworld and his encounter with Miru, who told him to return to his own world, ended with the comment:

> *Kua aere ta[u]a tangata i t[e] ao i.e. I oki te vaerua i roto i te kopapa kua ora akaou.*
>
> That person travelled to the (world of) light, i.e. the spirit returned to the body which came back to life.[14]

A similar contrast between the spirit and its human body is suggested in an Atiuan account of Cook's visit: 'I ta te vaerua, e ta te kopapa katoa' ('Of the spirits and all the bodies').[15] Mangaians held the same view of the *vaerua*:

To Koivi, vaio i erangi maunga,	Your bones rest on 'heavenly mountain',
To vaerua, e kave i te po	Your spirit will be carried to the *Po*
Na to maua metua na miru	For our mother Miru.[16]

In these parts of eastern Polynesia the *vaerua* (or related term) was the spiritual dimension of a person which could leave and return to the body both before and after death.

The *tuarangi* encompassed all the usages associated with *atua*, *io* and *vaerua*. It is a distinctively Mangaian term. Gill considered '"te anau tuarangi" or *the-heavenly-family*' as a 'very comprehensive designation for divinities of all kinds'. He translated *tuarangi* as '*like-the-heaven-or-sky*'. This category included rats, lizards, beetles, eels, sharks and birds in which the deities took up their abode.[17] However, Savage looked toward the basic meaning of the *tuarangi*'s constituent parts:

> The face of the sky sphere: used to denote: the space of the universe, the horizon; pertaining to the sky sphere, used figuratively to denote, divine or heavenly.[18]

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[14] **G 45**, no title. The text is located in a bundle of papers headed 'Simeona's papers' which judging from a letter by Simeona to Gill was composed around June 1869. The particular notes in which the Aitutaki story is found are very abrupt and poorly written in a mixture of Maori and English. The author is not known though it does not appear to be in Gill's hand. A version of the account is retold in **M&S**, 173f.

[15] **G 45**, 'E Manga Tuatua teia no te Taeanga o Tute ki Atiu'.

[16] **G 45**, 'E Vee no Ngaru'; **M&S**, 242. I have adapted Gill's translation which read: 'Thy *body* shall rot on this "Heavenly Mountain"/ Thy *spirit* shall be borne to the shades,/ To furnish a repast for our mother Miru'. The italics are by Gill who undoubtedly was trying to highlight the belief in the respective fates of the corporeal matter and the body's spirit.

[17] Ibid., 34--35.

[18] Savage, 402. Another compound which suggests what *tua-rangi* can mean is *vaka-tua-rangi* 'a divine or heavenly canoe, a sacred canoe'. Ibid. See also **Jottings**, 102--03.

The word was formed from a combination of *tua* and *rangi*. *Tua*, meant 'beyond, out of reach, distant'. It also referred to the back or rear of something.[19] *Rangi* was

> the ethereal space, the not-earth region; the modern definition is given as, the sky, the firmament, the heavens, but the latter definition was a meaning quite unknown to the ancient people: the sky sphere.[20]

Whereas Gill focussed on one important Mangaian usage, Savage turns the readers' attention to the more fundamental etymology of the word. No longer just divine creatures the *tuarangi* incorporate a quality of distance, being on the horizon, beyond the existing; a mysterious other but not necessarily straightforwardly malevolent as Mamae had suggested in his Tumuteanaoa text.

Gill elaborated upon his definition throughout the length and breadth of his writings. As a collective noun (*pa tuarangi*) the term was applied to red-coloured flies near the burial cave of Auraka in Mangaia. Gill described them as 'the guardians of the cave and of the dead'.[21] The duties of the former *ariki pa tai* and *ariki pa uta* involved the keeping away of 'evil-minded spirits (*pa tuarangi*) that might injure the island' by using 'rhythmical prayers [*karakia* ?] to great Rongo'.[22]

An important source of information on the Mangaian conceptions of the *tuarangi* remains the island's many song texts.[23] A number distinctly link this supernatural being to Mangaian *vaerua* (spirits), or their visible manifestation, the *tūpāpaku* (ghosts).[24] One song describes the marshalling of the spirits of the dead on the eastern shore of Mangaia before their journey westwards to 'Avaiki:

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[19] Savage, 401--3.

[20] Ibid., 292. *Rangi* was of course the name of Mangaia's first explorer. Not surprisingly *rangi* can also suggest chiefliness:

> A word used to denote: supreme in authority, a crown, supremacy, the paramount high chief, highest authority or power, etc., the emblem or sign or badge or insignia of highest chiefly office, or of dignity, or authority: an emblem of arikiship, worn on the head of chiefs (ibid., 292--93).

Used in a figurative sense *rangi* can mean 'anger, wroth, displeasure'. Ibid., 293. However, most of the listed terms show that *rangi* is primarily associated with the heavens, or the area above the earth. E.g. *rangi-atea* 'a cloudless sky, the distant sky-sphere'; *rangi-marie* 'a quiet atmosphere, fine, clear weather'; *rangirangi* 'cloudy'; *rangi-piri* 'native mat, the borders of which were ornamented with a certain pattern which represented the closed-in sky sphere'; *rangi-maunga* 'mountain ridges'; *rangi-riri* 'a certain condition of the sky'. Ibid.

[21] **Life**, 79.

[22] **DL**, 315.

[23] Some texts refer to a location on Mangaia called Tuarangi. See **M&S**, 209: 'Tei Tuarangi, tei Araturakina e!'; Gill translates this 'Perchance thy spirit is revisiting the spot' though his MS annotation 'ngai i uta' ('place inland') in **G 45**, 'Pee no Varenga', makes it clear, as does the locative particle *tei*, that Tuarangi is in fact a place. Another song in **Mi 131, 132** has the

Ua vā te tuarangi	The ghosts whispered
Ua vā te tuarangi tei kokirinui ē!	The ghosts whispered at Kokirinui.[25]

Another ghostly *tuarangi* occurs in an unpublished text: 'E tuarangi akarongo koumu i na punavai' ('Listen to the *tuarangi* whisper from the watercourse').[26] A third song apparently refers to a specific deceased: 'Amu te tuarangi' ('Amu the *tuarangi*').[27]

Korone'u's lament for his son, Atiroa, attacks the *tuarangi*, or in this instance, ghosts, in the strongest terms:

Tutae keinga e te tuarangi	The faeces are eaten by the *tuarangi*
Ūa e Tiki i te ū tuarangi!	Fart O Tiki as ghosts fart.[28]

Korone'u was aiming this blow directly at the *pi'a atua* and the gods. The intensity of his insults, such as: 'To taringa, e Pangeivi' ('(Cook) your ear, o Pangeivi [a priest]'), earnt it the sobriquet 'an atheistic dirge' by Gill.

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notation 'Butoa', a location in the Tamarua district, above the line 'no Tuarangi to kapiki' ('from Tuarangi you call'). See 'Pee Tuporo Manu' ('Kite Song').

Te Rangi Hiroa states that there were two places called Tuarangi: one was in Tamarua, the other was a *ta'ua teka* (dart-throwing arena) in the Kei'a district. **MP**, '26. Dart throwing'. Also see MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 3.4, Cook Islands Field Notes iv, 25, 69, BPBML.

[24] A useful discussion of these two Mangaian terms can be found in Papa Aratangi, 'Transformation of the Mangaian Religion', 54--55. The texts also recognise a connection between the *tuarangi* and Savage's definition of it as 'the space of the universe, the horizon'. Gill recounted the story of Ngata and his wife Ngaroariki, locating it in Rarotonga. In the manuscript the indigenous writer described their land: 'Tera te enua ko Tuarangi' ('That land is Tuarangi'). **G 45**, 'E Mana no Ngata'; **M&S**, 131--35.

[25] **G 45**, 'Pee no Puai e Tere'. Gill published the song in **M&S**, 199--202 replacing *ua* [*'ua*] with the more Rarotongan form *kua*. He translated the lines 'List to the hum of the ghosts!/ 'Tis the hum of spirits passing o'er the rocks'. In the MS is the annotation, probably by Gill, 'whisper' over the word *vā*. Kokirinui is actually a place name. I have amended the translation to incorporate these notes.

[26] **Mi 131, 132**, 'Pee no runga ia Pute'.

[27] **DL**, 107; **G 45**, no title, first line: 'Reketia arunga i Mataira'. According to Gill's translation Amu must have been a worshipper of Motoro. This person may have been the early *mangaia* of that name. See **DL**, [308].

[28] **M&S**, 282. Gill translated the last line 'Puff, Tiki, a puff such as only ghosts can!'. In a footnote he gave the Latin *pedite*, from *peditum* meaning 'fart'. Apart from changing 'puff' I have followed his rendering of *tuarangi* as 'ghost'.

Supernatural entities such as *tuarangi* were linked in Mangaia to an *atua*, the god Tāne, a '"dweller of the day"'.[29] An example of this association is the line: 'E ariki taotaoaia e te tuarangi' (WWG: 'I (Tane) am a sovereign possessed of an evil spirit').[30] However, the term *tuarangi* was also applied to several important beings in 'Avaiki who fell into the category of '"dwellers in the shades"'. In an explanation accompanying an unpublished song Mamae noted 'o te karangaia na e, na era avaiki, na era tuarangi' ('it is said that (the song line) "na era avaiki" (means) of those *tuarangi*').[31] Vari-ma-te-takere, the genitrix of humanity, or as Gill described her, the 'demon' or 'Great Mother',[32] is described in one song as a *tuarangi*:

Noo mai vari i te āiti e tuarangi	WWG: Vari's home is in the narrowest of spaces
Kai taro mata i na turanga pure ē!	A goddess feeding on raw "taro"
	At appointed periods of worship.[33]

Another possible reference to a *tuarangi* in the otherworld is made in the concluding section of this song. Above the proper name Maukurautaroa, translated as 'storm', Gill wrote '=tuarangi ta matangi' ('a *tuarangi* beating (upon the) wind (?)') suggesting Maukurautaroa too may have been regarded as a *tuarangi*.[34]

A provisional definition of *tuarangi* in Mangaian terms suggests it was an entity or location at a remove from the known.[35] Such entities were often associated with 'Avaiki, or Mangaia's otherworld, be it as the spirits of deceased Mangaians, or as deities inhabiting that place. In some cases they seem to have been regarded either as potential or real threats to human beings.

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[29] Ibid., 257.

[30] **G 45**, 'E Vai Eva, no te Kapa a Riuvaka'; **M&S**, 218.

[31] **Mi 131, 132**, 'E Pee no Roinga'.

[32] **M&S**, 3, 4.

[33] Ibid., 9; **G 45**, 'E Pee Pue Kapa'. Mark, 171 fn. 15, suggests that in certain contexts *tuarangi* could refer to spirits, especially Vari herself.

[34] **G 45**, 'E Mautu no nunga ia Vatea'; **M&S**, 9.

[35] Cf. Mark, 174 fig. 21 which defines *tuarangi* as 'not Mangaia'.

The Mangaian cosmological configuration incorporated two other beings: *ta'ae* and *tapairu*. These distinctive entities may have constituted particular forms of *tuarangi*. Savage defined *ta'ae* as,

> fierceness, ferociousness, that which is fierce, fiery, ferocious, dangerous or harmful, especially to the human race, as wild animals, stinging insects ... : adj. fierce, fiery, ferocious, dangerous ... ; wild, as animals, such as are dangerous or harmful to man.

The term could also be used in a more figurative sense:

> A demon, a monster, an object to be feared or dreaded; a wild beast: adj. ugly, demon-like or fierce as of aspect of appearance.[36]

Various deities were described as *ta'ae*. One of the most prominent was Miru. In a manuscript Gill annotated below her name: 'Taae rava' ('Quite a *taae*').[37] In his own publications Gill called her 'the inexpressibly ugly Miru', '*Miru kura*' (reddened Miru), or more bluntly, 'the hag'.[38] The reason for such appellations is not hard to find in Mangaian mythology. She was the goddess of 'Avaiki who tended a great oven in which all the dead were cooked and whom she and her children ate:

E tere aa ra e Miru, e tere kai tangata	WWG: What have you come for, Miru? I come to devour mankind.[39]

The only ones to escape this fate were the warriors killed in battle. They lived in Tiairi or Po'epo'e dancing and covering the dead with their excrement.[40]

The composer who described Miru's tastes so graphically recalled Ngaru's triumph over Miru and his escape from 'Avaiki as 'koia i pau taae' (WWG: 'Victorious over all monsters').[41] Ngaru was assisted in the deed by his grand-father Moko, 'king of the lizards', and Vari-ma-te-takere, from whom Ngaru was also descended:

Te ipoi arire na Moko ra,	WWG: Pet grandson of Moko,

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[36] Savage, 324. Two terms given by Savage suggest the parameters of *ta'ae*: *manu-ta'ae* 'a wild, ferocious, fierce or dangerous animal or bird'; *ngai-ta'ae* 'a place or locality which is dangerous to live in'. Ibid.

[37] **G 45**, 'E Pee no Miru'; M&S, 175--76.

[38] Ibid., 161.

[39] **G 45**, 'E Vee no Ngaru'; M&S, 239.

[40] Ibid., 160--64.

[41] Ibid., 238--43; **G 45**, 'E Vee no Ngaru'.

Na Vari ma te takere	Descended from Vari-originator-of-all-things.

Na mana o ngarutai,	By the power of Ngaru-tai
Noea toou mana,	Whence your power
No raro i Avaiki,	From Avaiki,
No Vari-matetakere,	From Vari-ma-te-takere
Na ōōki atu na	Who sends him back.[42]

Puataranga, the mother of Māui, also made reference to the *ta'ae* in 'Avaiki in the chant she used to return there from the world of the living:

Buataranga i tona rua, e rarangatu koe	Puataranga descends bodily through this hole
Anuenue i akarongo ia atu e	The rainbow-like must be obeyed
O pipiri o eretue i te ata	Opipiri, Oeretue-i-te-ata [clouds]
E vāiā vaia ake te rua i avaiki e nga taae	Open, open the hole to 'Avaiki, O *taae*.[43]

Another female--apparently a deity--rather akin to Miru was 'the cruel hag Moto'.[44] She is described as 'te vaine taae' ('the monstrous woman') who kills Ngaroariki despite the attempted intervention of the god Tangaroa.[45] Further deities referred to as *ta'ae* were the gods associated with rough seas, Tikokura and Tāne-ere-tue: 'Nga taae a kutu mai a kutu ē!' (WWG: 'These surf-gods are for ever thundering').[46]

A couple of references link the *ta'ae* with warrior-like qualities:

Arutoa mai koe taae atu au	You (are a) warrior; I (am a) *ta'ae*'

O nga toa, o nga maori	The warriors, the *Maori*
O nga taae, o nga taurekareka	The *ta'ae*, the scoundrels (?)[47]

More often *ta'ae* were identified with certain animals and expressed the fear people had of them. One story describes a whale which had swallowed people as *ta'ae*, another account used the term for a man-eating shark.[48] In his recounting of the last story Gill called the shark an 'evil spirit'.[49] A more singular example is the reference to the *kauā* bird, regarded as an incarnation of the god Tāne-ngaki-au:

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[42] Ibid.; **M&S**, 225, 238--43.

[43] Ibid., 52 and fn. 1; **G 45**, 'Tera mai taua kete amo ra'. The translation is adapted from WWG. Mangaians often wrote 'P' as a 'B' in their MSS.

[44] **M&S**, 132.

[45] **G 45**, 'E Mana no Ngata'. The story is set in Rarotonga.

[46] **Life**, 80, 83.

[47] SSSP Newell 9, 'E Eva na Teinaakia no te Mate ia Tuaopapa'; **G 45**, no title, first line: 'Ka ano au a motu i tau ivi ei o nooku'; **DL**, 87 (part only). WWG translates the first line differently: 'If one army be brave, so too is the other'. In a MS translation WWG uses 'party' instead of 'army'. The second reference is translated by WWG in the MS: 'The bravest and the strongest/ The [------] and the greatest'. There are a number of versions of this song. See Appendix D for further discussion of them.

E aparangi o te kauā	WWG: Like the outstretched heavens
Peau nui ka rere	Are the spread wings of the warning bird.
E uoa maira e taae	Tis the incarnation of a god.
E mataku paa taua e	One shakes with terror.[50]

Such incarnations were obviously regarded with a mixture of fear and veneration.[51] This sense of awesomeness could be extended to inanimate objects. In a manuscript Mamae explained

> *no te mea ua ngaa Vaangaru raua o Atarau, e to raua vaka nui taae*
>
> because Vaangaru and Atarau split their monstrously big canoe.[52]

In his discussion of *ta'ae* Clerk suggested that the term could apply to animals and to spirit beings. He thought it had parallels to the English word 'wild'--suggesting a ferocity or something out of direct human control. Most importantly he argued that the word stressed a fierceness in orientation rather than an actual threat towards human beings.[53] Much of what he says is true; nevertheless, *ta'ae* such as Miru and Moto though mythical are still depicted as actual threats. In the case of Miru everyone, save warriors killed in battle, will eventually be vanquished by her though in the meantime they could take comfort from Ngaru's victory at her expense.

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[48] **Mi 131, 132**, 'No nga Taae i Mate ia Nganaoa'; **G 45**, 'E Tara ia Ngaru'; **M&S**, 145--48, 225--26.

[49] Ibid., 225.

[50] Ibid., 49; **Mi 131, 132**, 'Pee no nunga i te Kapa a Maaki'. Also see **Jottings**, 99--102, for a fuller discussion of the role of the *kauā* bird.

[51] This reaction may have been an important religious quality. The New Zealand Maori developed it into a key concept, *wehi*, defined as 'awe or fear in the presence ... of the mana and tapu of the gods'. 'It is the emotion of fear generated by anxiety or apprehension in case one gives offence to the gods, or a response of awe at a manifestation of divine power (mana).' See Marsden, 197. In the Cook Islands it appears that the word *mataku* was consistently used in place of *wehi*. Cf. Maori and Rarotongan usages in Matthew 17:6, 7; Mark 5:33. For a discussion of the supernatural applications of *mataku* see Papa Aratangi, 'Transformation of the Mangaian Religion', 10.

[52] **Mi 131, 132**, 'E Pee no Roinga'.

[53] Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 469.

The most benevolent of supernatural beings was the *tapairu*. It has also received the most attention; Gill devoted a large section of one chapter to it. He defined the *tapairu* as daughters of Miru whom he called the '*peerless ones* on account of their matchless beauty'.[54] Elsewhere he did acknowledge that *tapairu* could also refer to male spirits in 'Avaiki who were connected with Miru.[55] These may have been sons though Gill only names one, Tautiti.[56] Most texts use the word *tapairu* to refer to female beings.[57] Gill noted that it was a favoured girl's name throughout eastern Polynesia.[58] Savage defined *tapairu* as fairies, beautiful girls, or 'the eldest daughter of a chief'.[59] In Mangaia, it will be recalled, the *tapairu* had a special protective relationship with the *ariki pa tai*, some of whom were women.[60] It may be that such women were the eldest daughters in the priestly family.

The use of *tapairu* in other Polynesian islands supports its application to specific categories of women. In the Society Islands it meant a girl chosen for her beauty to be an attendant of a chiefly woman.[61] New Zealand Maori usage is much more in accordance with the apparent Mangaian application of *tapairu* to sacred women. Female *ariki* in some parts of New Zealand were known as *ariki tapairu* while the term was also often used as a title for a first born female in a chiefly family. Such *tapairu* were considered *tapu* and performed certain ritual functions.[62] One author even translated *tapairu* as the 'High Priestess of the tribe'.[63]

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[54] M&S, 256.

[55] Ibid., 258.

[56] Ibid., 256.

[57] An exception is the *eke-tapairu*. Gill translated it as '"divine cuttle fish"'. See **Life**, 284. Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 232, described it as a form of octopus or squid. Savage, 63, on the other hand called it a species of large fish. Gill noted that the *eke* was worshipped in parts of the Cook Islands, such as Rarotonga and Tongareva, but not on Mangaia. See **Life**, 289, 290 and fn. 1.

[58] M&S, 257.

[59] Savage, 351.

[60] **DL**, 313 fn. 1, 316; **MangS**, 116; Gunson, 'Sacred Women', 166.

[61] Oliver, 860.

In Mangaia Gill distinguished between the *tapairu* in 'Avaiki (or 'the shades' as he frequently called it) who were presided over by Miru and those in the heavens presided over by the male deity Apai-te-rangi. He believed these two deities to be 'counterparts'.[64] This distinction is alluded to in the line: 'Bei 'a ea' nga Tapairu no Avaiki no nunga i te rangi e' ('At which time the *tapairu* from 'Avaiki, from up in the sky play ball').[65] However, such a distinction does not seem to have implied two separate worlds. Gill's counterparted 'shades' and heavens were instead parts of one realm encompassing Mangaia on all sides.[66]

The most striking feature of the *tapairu*, besides their alleged beauty, was their frequent visits to Mangaia. Gill explained that they delighted to appear whenever the *tautiti* dance, named for their brother, was performed.[67] Mangaian comment seems to suggest that the *tapairu* were well regarded. Mamae observed of 'te vaine tapairu' ('the *tapairu* women'), 'o te tapairu ... e vaine meitaki' ('the *tapairu* ... are good women').[68] Tereevangeria Aratangi elaborated upon their physical appearance and suggested other motivations for such terrestrial visits:

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[62] Best, *Maori*, I, 346, 349, 407; Hanson and Hanson, 92.

[63] Tregear, 152.

[64] **M&S**, 237, 264.

[65] **G 45**, 'E Pee no te Kapa a Potiki e Pēi'; **M&S**, 244--50. I have used the sign ' ' to denote a later manuscript addition. This song identifies a number of other *tapairu* besides Miru's daughters. One of them, Pai, is referred to in the MS of a second song, but misspelt in the published version: (MS) 'O pai te matangi riki' (**M&S**, 'O nai matangi riki') (WWG: 'O for a soft zephyr to bear me (Vatea)'). Above 'pai' in the MS is the annotation 'T[a]pairu'. Pai is presumably the 'zephyr' of Gill's translation. See ibid., 10; **G 45**, 'E Mautu no nunga ia Vatea'.

[66] Cf. Mark, 172--75, especially figs. 20, 21. These illustrations are derived from Gill's own attempts to depict the Mangaian conception of the otherworld based on the analogy of a coconut. See **M&S**, 2. Similar conceptions can be found in eastern and western Polynesia. E.g. Henry, 347--49; Gunson, 'Tongan Historiography', 5--6 and end illustration. Gunson considers this an illustration of the shamanic heritage found throughout Polynesia.

[67] **M&S**, 256. For these events the *tapairu* are often depicted at their toilet. Songs associate specific bathing ponds with the *tapairu*. See ibid., 257--58; **G 45**, 'E Pee no te Kapa Tāiaiti':

> *E toru vai e taka'i te Tapairu, e rua o Poutoa. Vaikaute 1. vaipau 2. O tai o Tavaenga. Auparu.*
>
> There are three ponds that the tapairu bathed in. Two are in Poutoa: Vaikaute (and) Vaipau. One is in Tavaenga: Auparu.

> *Na reira ko to ratou rouru e rouru muramura, e apinga tikai to roroa i to te vaine, ko to ratou ia parai e vai i to ratou kopapa, ko taratou apinga inangaro i teia ao ia tatou nei o te uaua o te au, e te puaau, ka kai ratou i te ua au, ka paki ratou i te avare*
>
> Thus their hair is red, long as a woman's. They anoint their bodies with water. They liked to come to this world for the fruit of the *au* [lemon hibiscus] tree and the *au* blossom. They ate the *au* tree fruit. They smeared on the *avare* (?).[69]

Unfortunately their visits were not always so carefree. The good looks of the *tapairu* prompted men on occasion to more than admiration. Aratangi related the entrapment of a *tapairu* by Oruru who took her home as his second wife. She became pregnant and had a number of children before returning to 'Avaiki.[70] Gill related a similar story which he located in Rarotonga. The man's name was Ati. He sought unsuccessfully to return with his wife to 'Avaiki.[71]

The intercourse with the *tapairu* was not always so intimate; a few men found that their beauty could be skin deep. The Mangaian culture hero, Ngaru, after marrying Miru's daughters was carried off by his wives to his mother-in-law and only narrowly escaped being cooked in her oven. If not actually doing the deed the *tapairu* certainly aided and abetted. Gill referred to the *tapairu* on that occasion as 'these attractive but dangerous fairy women'. In another adventure Ngaru also met the heavenly *tapairu* after managing to overcome Apaiterangi who had sought to kill him. He beat them in a ball game.[72]

The darker side of the *tapairu*'s reputation is not altogether surprising. Like the *tuarangi* the *tapairu* were linked with the god Tāne who had himself a notorious reputation:

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[68] **Mi 131, 132**, 'Te Tangi a Vaangaru'.

[69] MK, Tereevangeria Aratangi, ''Avaiki'.

[70] Ibid.

[71] M&S, 265--67. Probable draft, **Mi 131, 132**, no title. Original MS, **G 45**, 'E Tuatua teia no tetai Vaine Tapairu'.

[72] M&S, 228--36; **G 45**, 'E Tara ia Ngaru'.

E atua nio-renga i Iti, e Tane	Tāne, yellow-teethed god from Tahiti
Eaa ïa manu kai tangata ra ē!	What creature is it that eats people.[73]

Gill's rendering of these lines made the cannibalistic tendencies of Tāne more obvious. In Mangaia Tāne went under different forms. Tāne-kio was the god most associated with such activities.[74]

The *ta'ae* in the Mangaian stories are characterised as fearsome, awe-inspiring, or horrible. They evoked a stronger emotional reaction on the part of Mangaians than the *tuarangi* appear to have done. Qualitative differences in the emotional attitudes of a community towards its supernatural entities were not uncommon elsewhere in Polynesia. The Maori greatly feared the *kehua* (ghosts) which were considered to be roaming *wairua.* However an even more fearful version of the *kehua* was the *kikokiko*: 'Peculiarly malevolent ghosts that afflict the living, causing grievous illness, and often death'.[75] The Society Islander too had forms of ghosts or *'oromātua* which were regarded as much more malevolently inclined towards humankind than others.[76]

The *ta'ae*, judging from the available evidence, was an important supernatural being. In terms of Gill's definition of *tuarangi* as 'divinities of all kinds' it would seem that *ta'ae* may have been regarded as an emotionally intenser *tuarangi. Tapairu,* though also *tuarangi,* would appear to have been relatively minor players in the Mangaian supernatural world performing various ancillary roles to the more significant deities. No doubt their relative unimportance helps explain the sometimes positive, even benevolent, attitude Mangaians had towards them.

Understanding the distinctions between the different entities of Mangaia's supernatural world is not always easy unless there is a Mangaian textual authority. Gill often loosely used terms like 'demon', 'ghost', 'evil-spirit', 'fairy', 'hag', 'deity', or 'god'. The context of his stories does not always allow a reader to recognise that there are important distinctions. The *atua* appeared to operate as, at one level, a generic description for god(s) from the major deities such as Rongo to quite marginal figures, a usage in accordance with other parts of Polynesia. *Vaerua*, in Mangaia as elsewhere, were spirits, more specifically, the departed souls of the dead; they could move about and, as with the Aitutakian Te Kauae, return to the body after death. The *io, tuarangi, ta'ae,* and *tapairu* appear to have had more specific Mangaian understandings.

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[73] **M&S**, 263; **G 45**, 'E Ara Aere no te Kapa a Potiki'.

[74] **DL**, 56ff., 64--65, 332.

[75] Best, *Maori,* I, 301, 303.

[76] Oliver, 61; Henry, 202.

The *tuarangi* figure prominently in a series of stories about Mangaia's deities and visiting persons. These texts emphasise the sorts of beings thought of as *tuarangi.* The extension of the conception to people from other islands highlights the identification the pre-contact Mangaian made between the otherworld of deities and the rest of the world in which he or she lived. The existence of alternative versions of the stories enables a comparison to be made between the retellings of the Mangaian experts and those by Gill.

The first *tuarangi*-text relates the story of two Mangaian deities Uti and 'Iro.[77] Gill treated his explanation of them as another 'miscellaneous myth'.[78] However his opening to this text departed significantly from the approach he adopted for his other 'miscellaneous myth' about Tumuteanaoa and Rangi. Whereas he presented that account in a straight forward manner, only obtruding near the end, fully half the Uti text re-told a ride Gill made across Mangaia. It was on this journey that he encountered Uti for the first time. He described it as an '*ignis fatuus*'(Will-o'-the-wisp), but Mangaians at the mission house differed observing that '"Uti has been lighting up your path with her torch"'.

What is more surprising is the form of textual voice Gill adopted. Uti and 'Iro were re-presented in a tone of mystery and suspense more appropriate to a detective or horror novel. The opening line is a good example: 'Riding across the island alone one dark rainy night'. Throughout the paragraph the air of mystery is sustained. Gill wrote as if he were following someone or something he perceived to be carrying a torch. Nevertheless, he kept slyly hinting to the reader that this assumption of his was a mistake: 'I was delighted to see just ahead what seemed to be a man'; 'I shouted to my supposed companion'; 'as it kept to the path I suspected nothing'. Gill as author is directing the reader's understanding just as much as the textual Gill frantically spurring his horse on to reach the moving light. This entire story within the ethnographic story of Uti is terminated by the scientific description of an *ignis* which in turn is overlaid by the indigenous reference to Uti.

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[77] In his writings Gill does not mark the glottal stop in 'Iro. However the deity's identification with Hiro and Whiro confirms this spelling.

[78] M&S, 124--26.

Gill's personal anecdote not only sets the scene for the fuller indigenous explanation of this Mangaian entity but suggests how the reader should approach the story of Uti and 'Iro about to be told. He or she is left in no doubt that Uti is like the torch bearing companion of the lonely ride--completely fatuous.

According to Gill Uti presided over a district called Manomano which he translated as 'Countless', situated in 'the very depths of nether-land [i.e. 'Avaiki]'. Her 'delight' was to visit Mangaia with a torch to search for food. She could be observed along the reef, on the shore, or up a valley. Nevertheless her principal location was around Lake Tiriara. Uti--a 'fairy'--was sometimes 'attended' by her daughters. Her main contribution to humanity was to teach women to catch fish or crabs by torch-light. The story closes with a song referring to her.

Several points connect Uti to Tumuteanaoa. They both presided over places in 'Avaiki. Both were associated with Lake Tiriara. Both were classified as fairies, in other words, as supernatural beings. Both too were associated with offspring. However, Uti also had some quite positive associations with Mangaians unlike the antagonistic relationhip between Tumuteanaoa, her animal descendants and the island's founding father.

Linked to Uti's story is a shorter explanation about 'Iro, identified with the Tahitian Hiro and the Maori Whiro. Gill described 'Iro as 'the patron of thieves'. The text is an elaboration of the references made to him in the song about Uti. As if to highlight his supplementary status the 'Iro text closes with another song excerpt about Uti.

The Mangaian explanation for the first song text adopts a very different textual voice. Whereas Gill employs an authorial tone of mystery the Mangaian speaks in a matter of fact way. The writer, Tioi, describes himself as a *ta'unga* (expert).[79]

> *O Uti nei, e vaine ïa, nana ïa angaanga e ramarama, o manomano, e enua ïa, tei te pai o Rurapu, e te vakaroa, e puke Taro ïa e rua, o te anau atea, e rau tangata ïa, o Iro, e tuarangi ïa, e tangata rai, tana angaanga, e mamari, tei karangaia e, aore e karo i te rangi o Iro ua tātāi, o te po rangi kino poiri kerekere e te ua, aore e marama, o te tātāi ïa e karangaia nei, ua kapi te rangi i te tumurangi poiri o te ara ïa o te keia, aore e aere i te ao, no reira i karangaia'i e, tungia te ai e uti, ei turama i te apinga a riro i te Keia, Te papa ia otu, o avaiki ïa, o Otu e tangata ïa no avaiki o Atea e karangaia ra e, te anau atea, o vatea ïa. Te enua o uti manomano ïa, kare i taka to Iro enua no te pai ra.*
>
> This Uti is a woman. It is she who makes the lights. Manomano is a land. The *rurapu* and the *vakaroa* are found in dry-land *taro* beds; they are types of *taro.* The *'ānau atea* is a group of people. 'Iro is a *tuarangi,* he is a great person who is a thief ('tana angaanga, e mamari'). (The line) which says, *aore e karo i te rangi o Iro ua tātāi,* is a night when the heavens have been very dark and rainy. There is no light. The (reference) *tātāi* is said when the heavens have been covered by dark clouds, that is (the time to be) awake (in case) of thieves. They do not go abroad in the day, therefore it is said, *tungia te ai e uti,* so as to light the things in case they are taken by the thief. *Te papa ia otu,* that is 'Avaiki; Otu is a person from 'Avaiki. Atea, it is said, *te anau atea,* that is Vatea. The land of Uti, that is Manomano. It is not clear whether 'Iro's land had *taro* beds.[80]

'Iro, whom Tioi describes as a *tuarangi,* is identified as thieving *taro,* perhaps the most heinous of crimes since *taro* is a staple food in the Mangaian diet.[81] Tioi would certainly have agreed with Mamae's contention that the *tuarangi* was a decidedly bad kind of being. In stark contrast Uti helped light the *taro* beds and so lessened the opportunities for incidences of stealing. She was not called a *tuarangi* though in both the texts by Gill and Tioi she was closely linked to one.

The second Uti song text which Gill cited is recorded in a manuscript by Mamae. He added some further details about Uti, omitted by Tioi. Mamae explained that the 'rama na Uti' ('Uti's torch', the story's title) was so called because the torchlight wandered over the sea, the fresh-water and the land.[82] He went on to explain that Uti was a female whose task was to fish by torchlight,[83] and to provide light for the many taro beds.[84]

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[79] A Tioi of Ngāti Vara was identified as the composer of the dramatised song about Cook's visit. **DL**, 253. If the same man was responsible for the Uti song then the present text has either been transmitted as an authorial explanation to the composition or has been added by the nineteenth century recorder of the tradition.

[80] **G 45**, 'Rama a Uti or Will a Wisp'.

[81] **Life**, 47; **MangS**, 153.

Mamae's Uti text follows directly on from an earlier story. Both are described as being an *a'i* (fireside story?). The first account is titled: 'Te tara ia Turerreariki nei' ('The story regarding Turerreariki'). Mamae explained the story's significance in the opening: Turerreariki was a *tuarangi*. However he cautioned that there were variants to this story. According to one version Turerreariki was a man; according to another, he was a *tuarangi*. The ambiguious status of the story's authority was made even plainer in the subtitle text: 'Kare i taka meitaki' ('(The story) is not well known'). The version which regarded Turerreariki as a *tuarangi* believed him to be a shooting star. Apparently the shooting star was also called Tuanui-karere.[85]

Gill explained why the shooting star Turerreariki, *alias* Tuanui-karere, may have been considered a *tuarangi*. In his chapter on 'Astronomical Myths' is a brief entry under 'Eclipses'. Tuanui-ka-rere, or '*Tuanui-about-to-fly*', was 'a demon from the *east*' which in 'excessive fits of rage' swallowed the moon. At such times 'affrighted mortals' exclaimed: '"Alas! a divinity has devoured the moon!"' There was also a 'demon from the *west*' called Tangiia-ka-rere, 'or *Tangiia-about-to-fly*', which devoured the sun. Gill added that no offerings were made in Mangaia to these 'demons' though their anger would occasion the death of some prominent person 'to assuage their ire, and as a sort of payment for giving back to mankind these luminaries'.[86]

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[82] The Mangaian reads: 'No te mea e apinga aaere taua apinga ra na runga i te moana, e te vai, e te enua'.

[83] 'Ko tana ïa angaanga e ramarama mangaika'.

[84] 'Ko te mea ïa i karangaia'i e, e rama na uti i karangaia e, no te pai rai a Uti'.

[85] The relevant part of the second text reads:
I te tetai tara iaia, e tangata, i ta tetai tara, e tuarangi, tera ona tu, e etu rere tetai, i karangaia taua etu rere ra e, o turere ariki, tera tona ingoa i tapaia, o Tuanuikarere. [The rest of the story relates Turerreariki, the man, and the introduction of stilts into Mangaia. Turerreariki's place of origin was not known. The text then ends] *Te tai tu tena o Turerreariki, e etu rere, o Tuanuikarere te ingoa.*
See **Mi 131, 132.**

Tuarangi, at least in the eyes of nineteenth century Mangaians, were malevolent. The animals of Tumuteanaoa could more than likely cause both physical and psychic harm: 'Iro stole their principal crop; Turereariki, if Gill's version is accepted, attacked the moon. The last would have been a serious matter since activities such as fishing and agriculture were governed in Mangaia, as in other Polynesian islands, by a lunar calendar.[87]

In contrast to these *tuarangi* was the benevolent figure of Uti. She was linked in all accounts with *tuarangi*: 'Iro or Turereariki. Clearly, this is not just a case of textual coincidence. A second woman associated with *tuarangi*, but again not herself defined as one, was Tumuteanaoa. Not all supernatural beings were, it seems, *tuarangi* or considered malevolent by Mangaians.

Mangaians did not restrict such supernatural categories to the otherworld; they flowed over into and inhabited the lived present as in other Polynesian societies.[88] The *tuarangi*, in particular, appeared in stories which would be considered by Europeans to be independent of the supernatural realm. Gill hinted as much in a passing reference: 'The inhabitants of Mangaia were veritable *men* and *women*, as contrasted with the natives of other outlying islands, who were only tuarangi, or evil-spirits in the guise of humanity'.[89] One such malevolent migrant was a woman, Uanukutea.

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[86] **M&S**, 47.

[87] Ibid., 318--19; **Jottings**, 222; Valeri, 194--99; Malo, 30--36; Oliver, 264--69, 305--08; Best, *Maori*, II, 180--82, 184--85.

[88] Cf. Oliver, 66.

[89] **M&S**, 17.

A nineteenth century Mangaian account of her doings survives as a song explanation.[90] Like Tioi's explanation of Uti and 'Iro it is written in an abrupt, matter of fact way.

> *Ko Uanuku take tea te metua/ tokotoru tamariki/ Ko Tavake te tama ko Teirakiri te teina ko Uanukutea te tuaine tera te angaanga Uanukutea e kai tan[g]ata e tei inu te toto o te tangata te riri ra [?] te metua kua tuaru a tura i taua tamaine oro maira i Mangaia nei e noo aia i te tapa tai i te piaki i Mat[a/o]oronga Te uku maira te tai tuarangi vaerua kino ko Matariki ko te pia ia i taua tuatau ra i taua vaine ra No Mauke mai taua vaine nei ko tona enua ia.*
>
> Uanuku take tea had three children. Tavake, the (first born) son, Teirakiri, the younger son; and a daughter, Uanukutea. Uanukutea ate men and drank their blood. Her father was angry, drove her away and expelled his daughter. She fled to Mangaia where she lived by the seashore in the *pi'aki*[91] at Mat[a/o]aronga which is swept by the sea ('Te uku maira te tai'). (She was) a *tuarangi,* (a) bad spirit. Matariki was the *pi'a* (priest) at the time of that woman. That woman came from Mauke.

Gill treated this story much more elaborately.[92] First positioning the text historically, 'in the days of Tiki', he explained who Uanukutea was and the reason for her exile from Ma'uke. So far he is in accord with the Mangaian account. However, he added far more detail about the voyage to Mangaia, including the type of vessel and her food supply.

The next important section of Gill's version is an encounter with Matariki which is developed into a verbal exchange:

> Learning the name of the stranger woman, he inquired, 'What are you *crunching*, Uanukutea?; Her reply was, 'Only *the legs of a god*'--words which have since passed into a proverb.

Matariki, so Gill informs us, thought she was eating land crabs, but in a lengthy aside, Gill tells the reader of Uanukutea's cannibalism and expresses a pious revulsion. Employing a characteristic shifter: 'It is asserted', suggesting some authoritative Mangaian source, he elaborated on Uanukutea's method for capturing and killing her victims. Gill related an 'inquiry' which was set up to investigate some missing persons. Matariki, it appears, had realised his mistake and advised visiting Uanukutea. She was found out and killed.

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[90] **G 45**, no title. The '/' occurring in the first line of the Mangaian mark the ends of the original MS line. Most of the song text is reproduced in **DL**, 220--21. Gill notes that it was composed by Vaipo around 1819. There are some differences between the MS and the **DL** song texts.

P. 220, **DL** l. 3: MS 'ua taia koe'; MS text omitted after **DL**, l. 4: 'O Tavake te tama Uanukuteirakiri o Tane ē, Teirakiri no Tangaroa ei ōa ake no Uanuku o Mauke tau te enua ē'; **DL**, l. 6, adds *-tea* to MS Uanuku; **DL**, l. 8: MS 'Tei raro atu ra Uanukutea ē', same for l. 9. **DL**, p. 221, l. 12: MS 'ua kitea/ E kitea mai ana'; l. 13: MS 'te kai maira te kai ā te atua'; l. 14: MS 'turinga turinga/ mau ai rai'.

[91] An ecological zone located between the lagoon and the beach. Mark, 232.

[92] **DL**, 218--21.

At the end of the story Gill commented upon the narration, confirming his own acceptance of the account's historical veracity, legitimised by the song he appended about Uanukutea. He added one further comment: 'The story of her crimes may have been a mere excuse for the murder committed by these islanders, who looked with an evil eye upon all visitors'. Without a knowledge of the *tuarangi* such a statement would seem at first sight to be merely authorial license, a missionary's condemnation of the vile heathen, yet it in fact reflects accurately the indigenous attitude to *tuarangi* as fearful and feared entities--*vaerua kino.*

Gill's structuring of the stories reveals significant variations from the extant indigenous retellings. Some of the differences can be explained by Gill having access to alternative oral sources of information. However, the literary techniques evident in the Uti and 'Iro 'miscellaneous myth' suggest Gill was deliberately seeking to belittle Mangaian beliefs. The potential for his missionary responsibilities to override scholarly considerations can never be entirely excluded.

All supernatural entities, and by extension historical persons such as Uanukutea, were treated with varying degrees of circumspection and fear. It is well to recall Gill's remark that nearly all the Cook Island gods were malicious, 'some being more mischievous than others'.[93] The *tuarangi*, not least amongst the various supernatural beings, could figure as both a part of the beyond and as potentially threatening entities to be treated with all the ritual safeguards Mangaians could muster. The *tuarangi*, as a result, enter into the texts of the island's past showing both the way Mangaians viewed such entities and used them as a means of interpreting past events.

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[93] M&S, 38 fn. 1.

SIX

THE CHILDREN OF TANGAROA

The arrival of strangers in a new land is often greeted with suspicion, fear, even hostility from the inhabitants. The animal descendants of Tumuteanaoa opposed Rangi, the founding father of Mangaia, when he took possession of the island. His descendants, the Ngāriki tribe, were later divided into three divisions whose names commemorated their ancestors' bursting through the sky or voyaging from the sunset to reach Mangaia.[1] Later migrants aroused, in their turn, a hostile reaction from the Ngāriki; the Tonga'iti tribe who fought the Ngāriki upon their arrival were referred to as '"Tongans-sailing-through-the-skies"'.[2] Such references bear an obvious similarity to the Mangaian conception of the *tuarangi.* As Frazer long ago observed: 'To guard against the baneful influence exerted voluntarily or involuntarily by strangers is therefore an elementary dictate of savage prudence'.[3]

Two important groups of strangers who entered into the world of Mangaia from the historical stage of European exploration and missionary expansion were Captain James Cook and the Polynesian missionaries from the Society Islands. The local attitudes and responses towards them tell a lot about Mangaian perceptions of the world and how they interacted with it. At least initially these visitors were also regarded as supernatural beings: the offspring of Tangaroa, *tuarangi* or *vaerua kino.*

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[1] M&S, 167--68. The divisions were Pāpārangi, Sky Beater; Vaeruarangi, Spirit of the sky; and, Te 'Akatauira, Arrived.

[2] Ibid., 167, 289.

[3] Sir James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Abridged ed. (New York, 1922), 226.

The first known contact with Europeans occurred on 29 March 1777 when Cook sighted Mangaia.[4] The following day, a Sunday, contact was made with the Mangaians themselves. Almost the first observation refers to apparent signs of hostility on-shore. Cook observed:

> We presently found it was inhabited by seeing men in all parts come out of the woods upon the reef to oppose (as we thought) our landing, for they were all armed with long pikes or clubs which they brandished in the air with signs of threatning.[5]

David Samwell, first mate to William Anderson, the surgeon on the *Resolution*, described them as 'flocking together on the Beach'; he estimated the number of people to be 'three or four hundred'. Like Cook he definitely interpreted them as being hostile: 'they all shouted together very loud which we took to be in defiance of us'.[6] However Thomas Edgar, master of the *Discovery*, recorded them as '"Hallowing to us Harami" [Welcome or Come here]'.[7]

Anderson's journal gives the best idea of what was happening from the European view of events. The ships had stood off from the island overnight. They seem to have sighted the island again before daylight. Soon after coming upon its western shore they observed 'several people on a point we had pass'd wading on a reef'. They appear to have stood and watched the vessels. However, others 'who soon appeared in different parts' followed the ships:

> Sometimes several of them collected into small bodys, who made a shouting of noise altogether nearly in the same way as the inhabitants of New Zeeland [Cook's last port of call], but we could not tell whether to interpret it as a sign of friendship or enmity. Between seven and eight were at the WNW part of the island where there are several small sandy beaches, and one larger on which several Indians appeared,

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[4] The bulk of the documentary record for this event is formed by the assorted ships' logs and journals written as day to day observations and comment by keen eyed and ethnographically knowledgable explorers. The best Mangaian view of the events is the dramatised re-enactment of the visit composed by Tioi of Ngāti Vara and performed several years later. **DL**, 251--58. When collated the various records give a fruitful recounting of the Mangaian response to the visitation. The other ethnographically-aware commentary of the visit was made by Gill who set out his own beliefs concerning the Mangaian attitude to persons such as Cook in a footnote to the dramatised re-enactment: 'The heathen of Mangaia looked upon all strangers as mortal foes, to be opposed and slain, if possible'. Ibid., 255 fn. 3.

[5] J.C. Beaglehole, 78.

[6] ibid., 1003.

[7] ibid., 78 fn. 2.

> and being near the shore we could perceive with our glasses that they were all arm'd with long spears and clubs though far from threatening us with them they made signs we should come on shore.[8]

Judging from these shipboard observations the Mangaians presented a strong opposing force very soon after the ships came close to the island. So far the visitors were treated as a potential host of invaders. The texts are however undecided as to the ultimate intentions of the armed parties onshore.

The Mangaian view of the actions can be suggested on the basis both of stories about previous encounters with strange groups of people and of the dramatised re-enactment. An early *mangaia*, the giant Moke, is reputed to have defeated a large and hostile party from Rarotonga. One of his actions was to arrange his forces upon the beach to oppose the expected Rarotongan assault. He subsequently charged his successor, Amu, 'to despatch all strangers on landing'.[9] A second story concerned a visit by the Atiuan Akaterreariki who married Matakore, the daughter of the joint *mangaia* and *ariki*, Tiaio (or Te Aio). Unfortunately a jealous Rarotongan suitor killed the happy couple. Matakore's uncle, Pukenga, (acting as *toko* ?) was able to slay the assailant but, as Gill noted, 'from that day it became customary to murder all visitors touching the reefs'.[10] The only visitors known to have avoided such a fate were a numerically inferior party who possessed desirable property. They came either from Aitutaki or more likely Rarotonga.[11]

The re-enactment text suggests a variety of reactions may have been expressed in the first moments of contact:[12]

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[8] ibid., 826.

[9] **DL**, 36--37.

[10] Ibid., 40--43.

[11] Ibid., 240--42. Te Rangi Hiroa discussed these and other visits but was more interested in establishing their historical veracity than noticing the similarity or otherwise of the Mangaians' reactions. **MangS**, 39--43. Papa Aratangi, based on information from Te Rangi Hiroa and present-day informants' opinions, believed that Tamakeu, the leader of the last party, may have been the ancestor of the final *mangaia*, Pangemiro of Ngāti Mana'une. Pangemiro was certainly descended from Rurae, from the Manarangi family of Rarotonga. Papa Aratangi, 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 48--49. Cf. **MangS**, 76.

[12] These and later excerpts quoted from the re-enactment are not given in their original published order.

Ikā! Kua rau; kua rau	Ikā! Numerous, numerous
Te toa, te toa	The warriors, the warriors
Kua ta, kua ta	Attack, attack
Kua ta Mangaia, kua ta te pai!	Mangaia attacks, attacks the ship![13]
Tei tai te vaka manuiri a tae,	The canoe of strangers has arrived
Ouarauravae!	(A hubbub!)[14]
E pai parere i tau mai	An irregular boat has arrived
No tai tuamotu e!	From an adjacent island.
E pai kua aa teia?	What is the ship doing?

Bellicosity was displayed but also a sense of amazement, even confusion, at the ships themselves and the noise and activities of the Europeans upon them. The Mangaians are depicted in conversation enquiring about the actions of the ships and crews.

The next reaction on the part of the Mangaians to Cook's visit was to send off a canoe towards the ships. Both shipboard and Mangaian records indicate that the launching was done with some sense of urgency:

> At this time a few launch'd a small Canoe in a great hurry from the further end of the beach in which one man came for sometime towards the ship as with an intention to visit us.[15]
>
> *Tokonga kumi o Avarua ē.*
> *Tukua maira tai ori i te vaka.*
>
> WWG: O that vast ship off Avarua!
> Bestir ourselves and launch the canoe.[16]

However the Mangaian returned to shore. Anderson put this down to a failure of resolution. After some time another man got into the boat with the original occupant and they came towards the ships again.[17] They were evidently cautious; Cook observed that

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[13] Gill translated this verse less literally: 'We come; hundreds on hundreds/ Of warriors to fight;--yes, to fight!/ The Mangaians will attack and destroy the ship.'

[14] Gill translated these lines as 'A boat full of guests is here./ What gibberish they talk!' The use of 'guest' while a correct rendering of *manu'iri* would not seem to adequately express the sense of potential threat the Mangaians would have perceived in the visit.

[15] J.C. Beaglehole, 826. Anderson's journal.

[16] **DL**, 255. The first line of the English translation does not appear to be a literal rendering of the Mangaian text. A very tentative reading might be 'The supporting (of the) contention of Avarua'. Avarua is the place Cook was hoping to land at. The second line of this translation has been adapted from Gill.

[17] J.C. Beaglehole, 826.

'when we stoped they did the same and soon after retired towards the shore'. According to Cook's account the ships now left this part of the coast and went around the north side of the island looking for a suitable landing. Unsuccessful in this Cook tacked back to the west and met the same two men in the canoe.[18]

The Mangaians still did not come too close and seem to have only come up alongside the vessels after being addressed in Tahitian by Mai (Omai), the Society Islander returning from a visit to England who, in Anderson's words, 'in some measure quieted their apprehensions'. Cook decided to give them some gifts which were tied to a piece of wood and thrown to the canoe. Anderson gave a good description of the Mangaians' reactions:

> They seem'd afraid to touch these things and put the stick in one end of the canoe without untying them, which might arise from superstition, for Omaee said when they saw us offering them they ask'd something for their Eå'tooa or God.[19]

Samwell noted that they picked the items up 'and viewed [them] with great Astonishment'.[20]

A sequence of conversations with Mai and further gift giving ensued. One statement which Anderson reported shows that the Mangaians had a clear purpose in seeking contact with the visitors:

> They however would not venture on board but told Omai who understood them pretty well that the people on shore desir'd they would not go on board, at the same time directing them to enquire from whence our ship came and to learn the name of our Captain.[21]

One of the two canoe occupants figured more prominently in these exchanges. Cook was aware that this man had some authority for when he launched the ships's boats to search for a landing the man ordered the three hundred or so Mangaians on shore to retire; Samwell noted that they threw away their weapons.[22]

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[18] Ibid., 78.

[19] Ibid., 826--27.

[20] Ibid., 1003.

[21] Ibid., 827.

[22] Ibid., 79, 1003.

This man has been identified as Mourua or Kavoro.[23] His companion, Makatu, was probably an attendant, being the son of Kārua, a slave in the household of Mautara, the *pi'a atua* of Motoro and a *mangaia*.[24] Mourua was a far more distinguished personage. Cook elicited the information that he was 'the King's brother'.[25] Gill described him as the cousin and 'companion' of the then *mangaia* Kirikovi or Teāei.[26] Fragmentary genealogies can be reconstructed for both Mourua and Kirikovi.[27] The *mangaia*, like his brother Pa'i, was a *tama tāne* (descended through the father) to Ngāriki and a *tama va'ine* (descended through the mother) to Ngāti Vara.[28]

The descriptions of Mourua's physical appearance in 1777 confirm his high status in society. Anderson thought 'his colour was nearly of the same cast which is common to the southern Europeans'. Makatu on the other hand 'was not so handsome'. Mourua was also distinguished by greater ornamentation having 'two pearl shells polished and a bunch of hair loosely twisted hanging about his neck.'[29] Samwell added that Mourua 'was remarkably stout'. He elaborated on Anderson's description of the ornaments: '[Mourua] wore a Shell on his breast as an ornament, depending from a String round his neck'.[30] The

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[23] **DL**, 244.

[24] Ibid., 323; **Life**, 333.

[25] J.C. Beaglehole, 79. The term used was probably *teina*, a younger brother or cousin.

[26] **DL**, 245, 278.

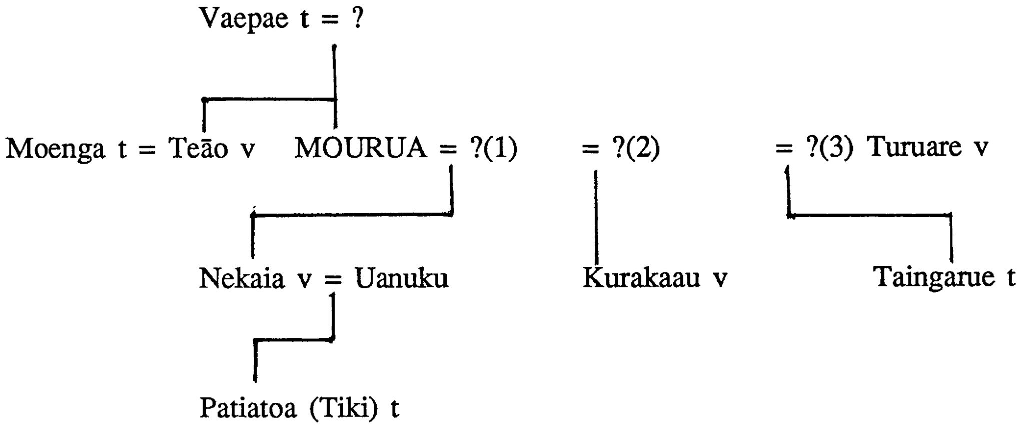
[27] See Figures 4 and 5 for their genealogies.

[28] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'; **DL**, 68--69; **M**.

[29] J.C. Beaglehole, 827--28.

[30] Ibid., 1004. Two photographs of similar looking Mangaian ornaments are discussed by Te Rangi Hiroa in 'Old Polynesian Curios', Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), *Report of the Director for 1948*, BPBMB 197 (Honolulu, 1949), 40 and facing page.

Figure 4: Genealogy of Mourua[31]



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[31] **DL**, 245ff.; **M&S**, 211 fn. 1, 213 fn. 2. Correct birth order of Teāo and Mourua is not known. Moenga was killed by Mourua; Nekaia was Mourua's eldest daughter; Uanuku was both a composer and a *korometua*; Patiatoa was also a *koromatua*, he died in 1854. Additional sources, ibid., 194, 210, 306. Note the priestly descent through a marriage with an eldest daughter.

Figure 5: Genealogy of Kirikovi and Pa‘i[32]

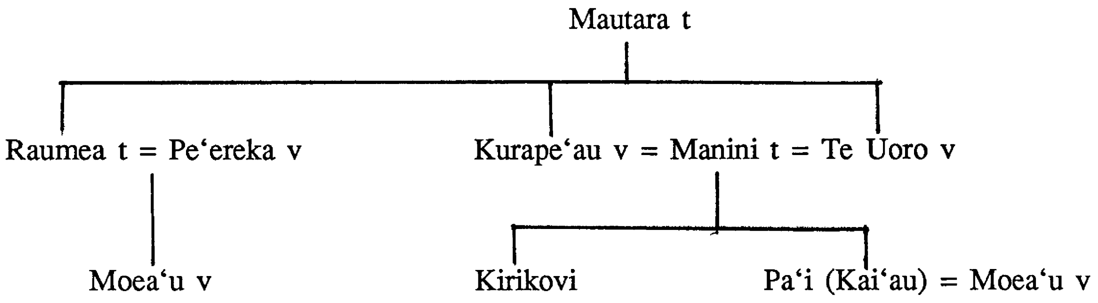
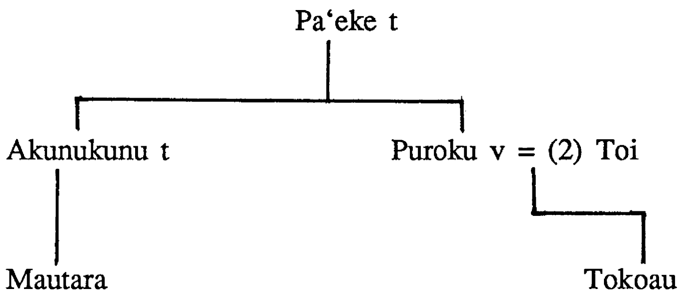


Figure 6: Genealogy of Tokoau[33]



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[32] **B**, Ikoke 6; **DL**, 281, 277 ff.; **MangS** 67 table 9, 70.

[33] **B**, ‘Sisters of Akunukunu’; **DL**, 210; **Life**, 332; **MangS**, 67.

fatter body, the lighter complexion and greater ornamentation signified throughout Polynesia a high-ranking person.[34]

At this moment of Mangaia's history Mourua is observed as playing the major part. Kirikovi, the *mangaia*, apparently remained on-shore. Mourua would appear to have been acting as his *toko*, a position earlier filled by Marokore, a Ngāti Vara and grandson of Mautara, who had helped Kirikovi to attain the *mangaia*.[35]

The historical record seems to support this view of Mourua's standing. Shortly after Cook's visit Mourua took the most prominent part in the fighting which installed Pa'i, the *mangaia*'s brother, in Kirikovi's place. Pa'i's victory and Mourua's critical role makes sense if he had been serving as the *mangaia*'s *toko* and then switched his military support to the aspirant leader.[36] Kirikovi's killing of Mourua soon after and the rapid end of Pa'i's reign only confirms this understanding of Mourua's military significance.[37]

Before discussing Mourua's reactions to Cook's arrival the significance of the *toko* in the context of Mangaian society needs to be elaborated. The *toko* (support) was a specific secular office. Te Rangi Hiroa translated it as 'military support'. He suggested that the position was filled by the victor when instead of becoming *mangaia*, he chose to allow someone else to hold the position.[38] However this definition does not fit all the known examples of *toko*. A number, such as Mourua, seem rather to have acted in an executive capacity carrying out the *mangaia*'s instructions.[39]

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[34] All three features can be found in stories and ethnographic descriptions from eastern Polynesia. E.g. the Mangaian culture hero Ngaru was blackened by the sun during his surfboard contest with a shark deity and as a consequence was spurned by his wife. In an attempt to win her back he bleached himself in an oven. **M&S**, 226--28; **G 45**, 'E Tara ia Ngaru'. Another Cook Island story relates how oven-bleaching was specifically restricted to chiefs and warriors; in this case, it was a ruse to kill them. **Life**, 143--45. In the Society Islands lighter skins were considered sexually more attractive; as a result *ari'i* women adopted pale complexions. Oliver, 359, 434--35, 782--83. Fairer skins were also favoured in earlier Maori society. Best, *Maori*, I, 361. Fattening too was favoured by the higher classes in society, again as an enhancement of personal attractiveness. **CIC**, 4--5; **DL**, 29; **MangS**, 88--89; Oliver, 41, 157, 159, 359, 434--37, 611, 1075; Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, *Voyages and Travels Round the World*, comp. from original documents by James Montgomery, 2nd ed., corrected (London, 1840), 97; Te Rangi Hiroa, *Ethnology of Mangareva*, BPBMB 157 (Honolulu, 1938), 117. High rank was further indicated by the wearing or ownership of more clothing and personal possessions. E.g. **CIC**, 12; Oliver, 154; Malo, 76--77.

[35] **MangS**, 68.

[36] **DL**, 245, 278; **MangS**, 68--69; **MP**, 'Mangaian Fragments'. A fuller account of the *'au* of Kirikovi and Pa'i and the reasons for their endings in SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[37] **DL**, 278--79; **MangS**, 70.

A more apt definition is found in the ceremonies inaugurating a *mangaia*. A forked, well-notched stick was set up in each principal *marae* 'intimating', as Gill has it, 'that the leading men who worshipped there should prove "supports" [*toko*] to the reign of peace now inaugurated'.[40] These *toko* such as Pōkino, the 'support' for Pangemiro, or Manini during the era of Mautara, acted as the *tiaki* (keeper or caretaker) of the *marae*.[41]

Since a *mangaia* attained that exalted position usually through force of arms, he would have to be supported by a body of warriors; the *toko* appear to have been drawn from their ranks. A *mangaia* may have had several such military supporters. Victors customarily rewarded their *toko* by installing them as the *pava* (district chiefs) and *kairanga nuku* (subdistrict chiefs).[42] Most identifiable *toko*, such as Mourua, were also related to the *mangaia* by blood or marriage ties. Two well known *toko* illustrate the point. Manini, supporter of Mautara, was married to the *mangaia*'s two daughters as well as his cousin, Enguengu. Tokoau was a cousin of Mautara.[43]

The role these leaders were expected to perform as *toko* is illustrated by the speech which a *mangaia* made when trouble was brewing in some part of the island. The speech also reveals a predilection for word plays. The *mangaia* would 'visit in state' and address the 'under-chiefs' [*kairanga nuku ?*] of the district: 'Prop up my rule ['*au*], not with rotten sticks [*toko pē*], but with ironwood [*toa*]. Let this palm [*nū*] grow tall, and not soon be felled. Therefore have I come, with your help to make peace [*aka'au*].'[44] The *'au* was a synonym for *mangaia*; the *toko pē* were not only 'rotten sticks' but the querulous chiefs being addressed; the *toa* were not only the ironwood tree--the material most preferred for weapons--but the restive warriors (*toa*) of the district;[45] the 'palm' (*nū*) referred to the coconut trees which a *mangaia* planted at the beginning of his reign 'as a visible token of his authority'--a metonym for the *'au.*[46]

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[38] Ibid., 34.

[39] E.g. Tokoau, a supporter of Mautara, killed a slave on the *mangaia*'s instructions. **Life**, 332.

[40] **M&S**, 294; **MangS**, 122.

[41] Te Rangi Hiroa, MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 3.4, Cook Islands Field Notes iv, p. 51, 52, BPBML; **MangS**, 158, 175.

[42] E.g. Ibid., 123--24.

[43] See Figure 6, p. 113, for genealogy of Tokoau. Genealogies of Manini are given in the charts for Kirikovi and Pa'i, Metuaiviivi and Akaina. See Figures 5, 7 and 16 respectively.

Not only the *mangaia* but society generally sought to prevent a chief abusing his powers for personal gain. Gill records that "the wise men" [*kōrero* ?] would upon the accession of a chief charge him to rule well:

Auā ei veu te rango

Let not the flies (the common people) be swept away.[47]

Auā ei ngaae te rauika

Let not the banana leaf be split.[48]

The banana leaf was a metonym for the state in Mangaia. Gill understood the allusion to mean that the island could be as easily split by a chief's dischord as the banana leaf was by the slightest breeze.[49]

If Mourua was a *toko* of Kirikovi, the hurried launching of the canoe in which Mourua was the sole occupant should be understood as a deliberate action. He was specially selected by virtue of his office to approach the visitors. No doubt there had been some sort of 'crisis-level' conference before he was sent. The delay before he returned might suggest there was a further discussion or confusion about what course to adopt.

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[44] **DL**, 376. Gill used confusing terminology in this example, describing the *mangaia* as a 'paramount chief' rather than the usual designation 'Lord of Mangaia'.

[45] **M&S**, 85.

[46] **DL**, 376.

[47] The Mangaian *veu* was spelt *vuu* in **DL** and in an earlier article, 'The Figurative Language of the South Seas', *SH* (1888), 477. It was corrected by hand in **DL**, University of the South Pacific reprint, 1984. See also Papa Aratangi, 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 44. Gill, in his translation of the proverb, called the common people, 'the serf population'. **DL**, 376.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

Mourua would appear to have had several other reasons for making contact with the visiting ships. Gill, on the basis of conversations with his descendants, believed Mourua had sought to encourage Cook to come ashore to marry his daughter Kurakaau. As Gill put it: 'Through this projected splendid alliance he hoped to become all-powerful among his countrymen.'[50] The ship-board observers recorded a series of actions which hint at such an invitation, though most of them did not understand the import of what they witnessed.

> One of them [Mourua] was lusty and well made but not very tall. His features were agreeable and his disposition seemingly no less so, for he made several droll gesticulations which indicated both good nature and a share of humour.

Anderson, whose report this is, later elaborated upon his observation when comparing the Mangaians to Tahitians and Marquesans:

> Their disposition seems also to correspond with the first, for they are not only chearfull but as Mou'rooa show'd us are acquainted with all the lascivious gesticulations these islanders practice in their amusements.[51]

Samwell reduced this event to the level of a fairground side-show:

> They had not been there long [beside the ship] before one of them very composedly began to make wry faces at us, intended most probably to divert us, as he seemed to exert his physiognomical Abilities according as we testified our approbation by our Laughter.[52]

At this point Cook and others were still trying to encourage Mourua and his companion on board. Before he would physically touch any part of the ship or its equipment Mourua intoned a *karakia.* Immediately after observing his 'droll gesticulations' Anderson wrote:

> He also made others which seem'd of a serious nature and repeated some words with a devout air before he would lay hold of a rope at the ships stern, which was probably to reccomend himself to the protection of some divinity.[53]

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[50] Ibid., 246.

[51] J.C. Beaglehole, 827, 830.

[52] Ibid., 1003.

[53] Ibid., 827.

Gill agreed that Mourua had 'invoked the protection of his idol god ere he ventured to take hold of the line'. The deity was Motoro.[54] Another reason for this precautionary ritual may have been the apparent identification of the Europeans with this god: a parallel to the more famous identification of Cook with Lono in the Hawaiian islands.[55] A Mangaian chief had, in Gill's words, 'oracularly declared that "it was the great (god) Motoro himself come up from paying a visit to Vātea"'.[56] Vātea was usually associated with the ocean.[57] The ships' passage up the western shore of the island may have heightened Mourua's anxieties about the visitors since this coast had been the arrival point for Motoro.[58]

Mourua was also interested in the Europeans from a military point of view. In a footnote to the Mangaian Cook re-enactment Gill noted:

> When Mourua found that the foreigners were after all men like himself, he slapped his thighs, and shouted with all his might--
> A mate! A mate!! A mate!!!
> Kia mou! Kia mou!! Kia mou!!!
> Let them die! Let them die!! Let them die!!!
> Seize them! Seize them!! Seize them!!![59]

The most likely occasion for this utterance would appear to have been after Mourua's incantation or during Cook's closer reconnoitre of the shore by boat. Certainly Mourua and other Mangaians acted with more confidence. Cook himself went in the pinnace in order to give gifts to the Mangaians and so 'gain their good will'.

> I had no sooner put off from the Ship than the two men in the Canoe came along side of the boat and one of them [Mourua] steped into her without being asked or a moments hisitation.

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[54] **DL**, 246.

[55] Gavan Daws, 'Kealakekua Bay Revisited: A Note on the Death of Captain Cook', *JPH* 3 (1968), 21--23; Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities*, ASAO Special Publications No 1 (Ann Arbor, 1981), 17--22.

[56] **DL**, 246.

[57] E.g. 'O Vatea te auranga moana' ('Vātea is the guardian of the ocean'). **G 45**, 'Karakia no te Ika Akatangi Pau'; **M&S**, 295. Other references in Mark, 132, 173--75 figs. 19--22.

[58] J.C. Beaglehole, 78, 826; **M&S**, 15, 31--32, 181--84.

[59] **DL**, 255 fn. 3.

The canoe had apparently gone back to shore shortly before this and had returned, presumably when it became clear that Cook intended to launch the boats for his attempted landing.[60] With Mai acting as an interpreter Cook was directed by Mourua to two landing places but Cook felt the risks were too great and reluctantly gave up his attempt to land. Meanwhile some of the Mangaians on-shore swam out:

> The curiosity of many was so strong that they took to the Water and Swam off to the boats and came on board without reserve; nay we found it some difficulty to keep them out, and we found it still more difficult to prevent them from carrying off every thing they could lay their hands upon.[61]

Edgar's log gives a more graphic description of the chaos:

> 4 of them being sufferd to come on board our boat were so impudently Troublesome that the boat was obliged to Pull further from the Shore to Prevent any more from Visiting them, one of them immediately Laid hands on a Paper of Beads and was overboard with it in an instant, the rest wanted to seize the Fire Arms & were with Difficulty Prevented, one fellow made several Efforts to Pull the Iron Ring out of the Stem of the Boat yet they did not seem to Know the Value of Iron for 2 of them were Presented with a Hatchet a Piece, but Looking Glases being given them they threw down our hatchets they knew what they were & calld them Togies [*toki*] the same as in New Zealand.[62]

Samwell recorded that three men got into one boat; Mourua was in the Captain's pinnace.

The prevailing attitude of those Mangaians who watched the boats from on shore is not clear. Samwell believed that the 'Indians on the Beach expressed a great desire that our people shou'd come on Shore'.[63] When the boats came near the shore at least two hundred armed Mangaians were observed to flock there. It was at this point that Mourua told the assembly to withdraw. However, his motive for this may not have been altogether benign. Gill believed that if Cook had landed as Mourua advised he would not have left alive.[64] Considering the earlier accounts of Mangaian contact with outsiders he may not have been far wrong.

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[60] See Anderson, in J.C. Beaglehole, 828.

[61] Ibid., 79.

[62] Ibid., 79 fn. 3.

[63] Ibid., 1003.

The Mangaian re-enactment of Cook's visit describes some of the local reactions to the boats' attempted landing:

Nai ua rau te vaka ē!	WWG: Numberless are the boats
E manuiri.	They are foreigners.
Maīo no tai enua ē!	Maī from some other land.
Aere mai! Aere mai, e Beretane!	WWG: Come on, come on, ye Britons.
Kirikiritia atu tai ua manu,	Draw out only (the) one person/ creature
E Tu, kia pārai i te tua o te manuiri.	O Tu(te) [i.e. Cook], to sit upon the back of the stranger.[65]
Kua te te rā e!	Splash go the oars!

The first reaction to the boats was again one of amazement if not fear. However the reference to splashing oars suggests a keen interest in the Europeans' actions. The Mangaians were also beginning to distinguish certain principal persons, namely, Cook and Mai. Another verse makes this identification clearer:

Taau ariki o Avarua.	Your *ariki* of Avarua
No Tu oki e Maī te rā e!	Of Tu(te) and Mai![66]

The song's text confirms Samwell's belief that the people may have been calling to them to come ashore. However, these apparently earnest solicitations might not have proved especially welcome if they had been taken up. On the contrary, the re-enactment reinforces Gill's statement that Cook at least would not have been allowed to leave the island.

Gill believed that one of the Mangaians who swam out to the boats was the *mangaia* himself, Kirikovi, who was given an axe.[67] However the evidence of the journals is against this.[68] Nevertheless, amongst the first bundle of gifts which Mourua and his canoe companion so cautiously treated was a 'Spike Nail'.[69] This may well have been fashioned into the adze which became an important chiefly possession and tool till the advent of European axes during the nineteenth century.[70] A Mangaian text certainly connects Kirikovi with this item:

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[64] **DL**, 246--47.

[65] Gill translated this: 'Lead forth some bird to settle down/ Upon the shoulders of these guests/ (*i.e.* to detain them)'. He obviously believed it to be a reference to a Mangaian intention to hold Cook once he had landed. *Manu* means bird or land animal; it also has a figurative meaning of 'person'. Savage, 139; **DL**, 262.

[66] Gill translated these lines: 'A great chief is off Avarua./ The ship belongs to Cook and Maī.'

[67] Ibid., 265.

[68] J.C. Beaglehole, 79 and fn. 3.

> *No Te Aei, te toki, no runga i te pai o Tute, no reira mai taua toki ra, i rauka mai ai ia Te aei, riro iora nona taua toki nei*
>
> This adze belonged to Te Aei [Kirikovi] (it came) from Cook's ship, consequently that adze was possessed by Te Aei (and) became his adze.[71]

After Cook had been forced to abandon his attempts to land Mourua was finally prevailed upon to board the ship. Nevertheless he was still uneasy about the situation:

> At length when they perceived we were going to the Ships they all left us except the man we had in the boat, he tho not without evident signs of fear, accompaned us on board. The Cattle and other new objects that presented themselves to him did not strike him with that surprize one might have expected; perhaps his mind was too much taken up for his own safty to attend to other things, for he seemed very uneasy, and the Ship at this time happened to be standing off shore made him the more so. In this situation I could get but little information from him therefore after a short stay ordered the boat to carry him in towards the shore. ... . The boat conveyed him pretty near the surf, when he took to the Water and swam a shore. He had no sooner land[ed] than the Multitude gathered round him, in which situation they remained when we lost sight of them.[72]

Samwell's account stresses Mourua's perturbation even more:

> He in the pinnace was prevailed upon with much Sollicitation to accompany the Captain to the Ship; when he got alongside it was with much reluctance he ventured on board. He was taken under the half Deck & the Cattle shewn to him; the Captain took him into his Cabbin, but the agitation of mind he was in, left him but little at leasure to make any Observation except that there was a way out of the Quarter Gallery into the Water, of Which Discovery he was going to avail himself but was prevented & sent on Shore in the Pinnace.[73]

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[69] Ibid., 78 fn. 4; Anderson mentions 'nails', ibid., 826.

[70] See **DL**, chap. xxxiii. Gill believed the nails given to Mourua to be separate from the axe. He believed the nail given to Mourua became a bradawl for boring holes by which to secure sennit cords binding canoe portions together. Ibid., 271. Tyerman and Bennet, 67, noted that the first nail at Huahine, originating from Raiatea, was used in a similar fashion, being hired to canoe builders to bore holes in the planks.

[71] **G 45**, 'Tera Te Tara i taua Toki nei'. This text is a list of those succeeding chiefs who gained possession of the adze and what they used it for.

[72] J.C. Beaglehole, 79--80.

[73] Ibid., 1003--04.

Anderson added that when Mourua was returned ashore he 'was immediately surrounded by his companions as if with an eager curiosity to learn what he had seen.'[74]

The Mangaian reactions to this visit took two forms. The first could be described as the island community's standard repertoire of responses to foreigners. The Mangaians immediately exhibited bellicosity, followed quickly by cautious enquiries; the last being carried out by the *mangaia*'s military executive. Following the establishment of communication (and presumably after the *toko* had made an appraisal of the visitors' intentions) the Mangaians expressed a growing self-assurance in their dealings until the exchange was curtailed by the Europeans' inability to land. This sudden termination also means that it remains unclear what the Mangaians' next course of action would have been. Gill believed that the visitors would have been killed. Other historical texts support this view.

The second form of reaction describes Mourua's own actions and intentions. He was, at first, acting *ex officio*, initiating contact and sizing up the military opposition. So far as he was concerned he had to deal with a potentially malevolent force. He was careful not to make physical contact until appropriate ritual safeguards had been pronounced. As *toko* he continued to be an important point of contact between the visitors and the Islanders. He accompanied Cook; he ordered the warriors back; he visited the ship. However he was also, according to Gill's testimony, motivated by his own desires to attain more prestige, in short, the pursuit of *mana*. He sought, if Gill is right, to establish a sexual union between Cook and his own daughter. Whether Mourua, as Gill also believed, sanctioned seizing the Europeans, probably upon their landing, it is hard to say. Presumably if he had desired Cook, or anyone else, for his daughter he would have taken steps to safeguard them.

The most important response by the Mangaians was their linking of the visitors to the supernatural. Mourua's use of ritual and the belief that the Europeans were an incarnation of Motoro formed only part of a complex interpretation of the event in terms of a Mangaian understanding of the world. The dramatic re-enactment elaborates this theme.

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[74] Ibid., 828.

No Tangaroa te vaka: *Kua tere i te aka i te rangi ē!*	The canoe is from Tangaroa Sailing out of the roots of the etherial region![75]
O murenga oa. O murenga oa, e Beretane!	WWG: They are white-faced--they are white-faced men and Britons.[76]
A! e atua mataku oki	Fearful gods indeed
E pai omurenga! *Auere toa.*	WWG: A people with white faces. Unheard-of event!

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[75] Gill renders the second line: 'Which has burst through the solid/ blue vault.'

[76] Gill does not literally render the Mangaian text for these lines; the precise meaning of 'O murenga' in this context is difficult to obtain. Elsewhere in the text Gill wrote it 'omurenga'. Savage, 303--04, defined *renga* as tumeric and the yellow juice extracted from it. *Rengarenga* is defined as yellow or a bright gold colour. *Mu* can be a species of fish, a grub or book worm; *mū* is silent, dumb, speechless. Savage, 169--70.

Evidence from different Polynesian islands suggests an even more complex interpretation is possible. In Mangaia *renga* was connected with divine beings: Tāne was called in one song, 'nio-renga' ('yellow tooth'). See **M&S**, 263. The colour yellow was also linked to Motoro: the 'houses of Motoro' which lured a *vaerua* to Miru's oven was made from yellow reeds; the coconut tree on Motoro's *marae* at Araata was, according to Gill, of a rare, yellow kind. Ibid., 165--66; **DL**, 133 fn. 1.

Maretu preserved an interesting usage from the early mission era in a discussion about the most desirable missionary: 'The six *kavana* of Mangaia agree that we want a European only. We don't want a yellow tooth [MS: 'nio renga'], meaning an old man'. What is significant about this reference is not the application of 'yellow tooth' to a man but to a missionary and non-Mangaian; in other words, an association with the divine and what was earlier conceived of as the beyond. Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts*, 107; 'The Autobiography of Maretu ... written by himself', PS 1187/58a, 58c, p. 286. The original text does not seem to incorporate the last phrase as part of the speech. It appears to be Maretu's gloss intended to follow the quotation.

Other islands linked yellow or turmeric to the divine. In Samoa Sama, or Yellow, was a cannibal deity. Another god La'ala'a became incarnate in a 'yellow man'. George Turner, *Samoa: A Hundred Years Ago and Long Before* (London, 1884), 33, 48. In the Marquesas *eka* or saffron (i.e. turmeric) has been described as 'the spiritually endowed yellow cosmetic *eka*'. Jennifer Terrell, Introduction to Von den Steinen's *Marquesan Myths*, trans. Marta Langridge, ed. Jennifer Terrell [Canberra, 1988], xiii. In Tikopia turmeric was used to mark 'the moment of especial social interest and importance'; it was linked to the gods Atua i Kafika and Ariki Vai (Tuna); it was also involved in various religious proceedings. Raymond Firth, *Tikopia Ritual and Belief*, 49, 308, 323; *Rank and Religion in Tikopia*, 88, 119 fn. 1, 155, 171--72, 189, 243, 374--75; *We, The Tikopia*, abridged by the Author (Stanford, 1983), 378--79, 396--97, 425--27. A similar connection to religious ritual is found in the Society Islands and Hawaii. Oliver 109; Malo, 97--98, 208. The colour yellow was also significant in these islands having a similar status to the sacred colour red. E.g. Oliver, 488; Beckwith, 91, 125, 200, 303. In Mangareva, turmeric (*renga*) was used in priestly initiation rites; it was so highly regarded that it was protected by three gods and its planting and cultivation subjected to various religious rites. Te Rangi Hiroa, *Ethnology of Mangareva*, 214--15, 428, 431, 463.

The term *mu* may also have had divine connotations. In an Hawaiian chant it was associated with the god Kane, i.e. Tāne. Emerson, in Malo, 179 fn. 16, suggested it meant 'awed into silence'. See also Malo, 99 fn. 4. In this light 'O murenga' may refer to the effects of the sacred yellow (beings), i.e. Europeans, upon the Mangaians, 'awed into silence'. At the very least the term *murenga* seems to describe a supernatural being.

According to the song's composer the Europeans were considered *murenga* (a description probably applied to divine beings), *atua mataku* (fearful gods) and descendants of Tangaroa.[77] The ships themselves were depicted as emerging from what was evidently the *tuarangi*, the horizon, or 'not-Mangaia', where 'Avaiki existed. The only other recorded Mangaian opinion concerning Cook confirms the song's interpretation: 'Era, e te matakeinanga, no raro i Te-papa-rairai i Vātea' (WWG: 'Surely, friends, he has climbed up from The-thin-land, the home of Vātea').[78]

The reference to Tangaroa is especially significant for Mangaia. In the mythological texts Tangaroa is generally depicted as the elder brother of Rongo. Tangaroa was forced to leave A'ua'u in the otherworld after losing a competition for the ownership of the island's food resources with his brother.[79] A *marae* was retained in his honour on Mangaia and first-fruit offerings of all the newly-planted coconut groves were presented. 'This was', as Gill observed, 'simply a recognition of his primogeniture'. Otherwise the *marae* was virtually neglected. Rongo reigned as the pre-eminent deity.[80]

Mangaians believed, according to Gill, that Tangaroa lived 'in the sky, *i.e.* far beyond the horizon'.[81] He does not elaborate further upon this comment, yet it is very significant; the English phraseology echoes exactly the meaning of *tuarangi*. This connection seems to be further reinforced by the line from the Cook re-enactment: 'Kua tere i te aka i te rangi' ('Sailing out of the roots of the etherial region'). The arrival of the Europeans was a significant event not just because they were so different or exotic, but because that exoticism or strangeness betokened a connection to Tangaroa and the *tuarangi*, quite literally, the beyond.

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[77] Gill's makes this last point more explicit in **M&S**, 13, 15, where he likens the expatriate Tangaroa to the Hawaiian Lono with whom Cook was mistaken.

[78] Ibid., 7 fn. 1. In **DL**, 323, this comment, by Potai, a chief of Ngāriki, is rendered: 'This is unquestionably a visitor from the Spirit-world.'

[79] The most accessible versions of this story are in **M&S**, 11--14; **MangS**, 16--17. See Chapter 8 for a more detailed discussion.

[80] **M&S**, 19. A possible reference to this *marae* occurs in a song: 'E era te taua i Tuaoruku na oroiti, na Te auotangaroa' (WWG: 'At Tuaoruku is a fairy dancing-ground,/ For Oroiti and Teauotangaroa'). See **M&S**, 260; **G 45**, 'E Ara Aere no te Kapa a Potiki'. However, according to a MS annotation, Tuaoruku and Teauotangaroa are in the Veitatei district, suggesting they are locations there. Teauotangaroa may be spelt Te au o Tangaroa. Te Rangi Hiroa noted that *a'u* meant 'to build or repair a marae'. See **MangS**, 173. In the light of such evidence it seems possible that Teauotangaroa in fact refers to a *marae* structure.

[81] **M&S**, 13.

THE GREATEST TRIAL Mangaians faced was the arrival of the missionaries. Their two visits, in 1823 and 1824, are well documented.[82] The first and abortive visit was part of John Williams' triumphal introduction of Christianity and British technological know-how in the Cook Islands.[83] As with Cook the earliest moments of contact reveal much about the Islanders' attitudes to outsiders and how they sought to handle them.

The Mangaians first response to the mission ship indicates their familiarity with the folkways of ships' visits:

> On reaching the island, we descried a number of the natives on a sandy beech [*sic*], waving a white flag, which is a signal universally understood in the islands of the Pacific, as intimating a wish for friendly intercourse, or, rather, that the parties waving it should be approached.[84]

Gill recorded two occasions where trading relationships had been established between passing vessels and Mangaians after Cook's brief sojourn.[85]

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[82] John Williams wrote two accounts of his Cook Island visit. The first was an unpublished journal written at the time. [John Williams], 'Journal of a Voyage ... performed by Messrs. Williams & Bourne ... in the months of July and August 1823', MS, [1823]. TS and photocopy of original MS in South Seas Journals, no 67, Council for World Mission Archives (formerly LMS). Hereinafter cited as John Williams, 'Journal'. The second was published as part of Williams', *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South-Sea Islands* (London, n.d.). First published in 1837. Shorter descriptions of these events were provided by later missionaries. These are cited where appropriate. The most valuable of the later missionary accounts is the narrative by WWG who obtained additional information on the early missionary visits from his Mangaian associates. See especially **DL**, 323--31.

[83] Williams's civilizing emphasis in mission work is discussed more fully in Gunson, 'John Williams and his Ship: The Bourgeois Aspirations of a Missionary Family', *Questioning the Past: A Selection of Papers in History and Government*, ed. D.P. Crook (St Lucia, Queensland, 1972), 77, 91--92; Gavan Daws, *A Dream of Islands* (New York, 1980), 30--34, 39--40.

[84] John Williams, *Narrative*, 65. The published text differs from that in the original journal which does not include the interpolation on the significance of the signal. The flag is also noted there as 'cloth', presumably meaning it was a *tapa* cloth: 'At length we espied a number of Natives on a sandy part of the beach waving cloth for us to come on Shore'. John Williams, 'Journal'.

[85] **DL**, 324--26. Mention is also made of these visits in SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

The next Mangaian reaction suggests the familiar caution regarding treating with strangers; no Mangaians took up Williams' signal to approach the ship.[86] Papeiha, a missionary from the Society Islands, and Haavi, a colleague from Tahaa in the Leeward Islands, were sent to converse with the Mangaians from outside the reef.

> They were to state our object in visiting them to propose that two teachers should be brought on Shore and reside with them to instruct them in the word of the true God and to endeavor to get the Cheif and his wife on board. that we might try to persuade them to go with us to Tahaa. to inform them of all that had been done at Aitutake.[87]

The boat left, accompanied by the ship's captain.

Shortly afterwards, the first Mangaian response was observed. Two canoes paddled 'very slowly' towards the ship but could not be induced to come near. Meanwhile the boat returned having been unable to convince anyone on shore to come off with them. The ship's captain steered the boat towards one of the canoes. Its occupant paddled away 'with all his might'. However, the captain managed eventually to convince the canoeists to travel towards the ship after showing them some knives.[88] Clearly trade goods were already an important lure.

Nevertheless, the Mangaians refused to go on board despite Williams' party using 'every means in our power'.[89] The Aitutakians and Rarotongans accompanying the mission were shown to the canoe occupants and, 'exhorted them not to fear telling them that this was a Ship of God and we should not hurt them'.[90] Eventually one Mangaian was convinced to board.[91] Like Mourua in 1777 this man was highly agitated, 'every muscle in his Herculean frame appeared in motion'.[92] The man looked 'very significantly' at the ship. A conversation ensued between him and the mission party, the latter speaking either Rarotongan or Aitutakian. This exchange, largely unrecorded in published accounts, emphasises the concerns of the missionaries to discover the state of affairs in Mangaia and its religious practices. They were especially interested in learning details of value to the missionaries intending to stay there.

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[86] The following account of Williams's visit is derived unless otherwise stated from the 'Journal' and the *Narrative*, 64--69. A brief summary of these events is given in William Gill, *Gems from the Coral Islands*, 132--33. The differences between Williams' published and unpublished narrations are at times significant. The variations will be discussed where it is judged appropriate.

[87] John Williams, 'Journal'.

[88] This interpretation, based upon the 'Journal', differs from that in the *Narrative*. In the published version the canoes when approached paddled quickly back to shore where the occupants seized their weapons and 'placed themselves in an attitude of defence'. Ibid., 65. Williams also records three unsuccessful efforts by the boatsmen to convince the Mangaians to come to the ship. They eventually succeeded only after exhibiting knives and 'mother-of-pearl oyster-shells'. Ibid.

[89] 'Journal'.

[90] Ibid.

> We asked him first the name of the Island he told us Kaia - we asked him how many Cheifs there were he replied Three whose names are Kaiau, Maonga nui, Nui Maanga a tini - We asked him how many Gods they worshipped - he replied they had 2 principal ones - Tane and Rongo - there were also two great Marae's - we asked him if they destroyed their infants he said No We asked him if they offered human Sacrafices - we understood him that they offered them after they were dead but did not Kill them for that purpose - We asked him if it would be safe for the Teachers to go on Shore - he replied that they were a people who did not kill men and they would be safe. We asked him if they were at War with each other he replied - No - We enquired of him the nature of their food - he told us that they had Cocoa Nutts, Taro, Bread fruit, Plantains, Banannas, Yams and sugar Cane, the Sugar Cane appeared amazingly fine -[93]

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[91] The *Narrative* and 'Journal' texts are unclear as to whether one or both canoes were involved in this exchange. In the 'Journal' Williams talks as if one canoe came up to the ship; the published version speaks as if both canoes came alongside. The latter text would seem to suggest that the two canoes each had one occupant. If one canoe is understood to have approached the mission ship, then two occupants is more likely. I tend to the view that both canoes, each manned by one person, came to the ship. One man climbed up and the other paddled away.

[92] This description is from the *Narrative*, 66. The 'Journal' put it more prosaically; the man 'was greatly agitated and trembled much'.

[93] John Williams, 'Journal'. Kaia undoubtedly referred to Kei'a, a western island district which the ship would have been facing at the time. Maonga nui probably refers to Maunganui, a Pāpārangi (Ngāriki) leader who was *tama va'ine* to Ngāti Vara. He was at this time a *kairanga nuku* in Tamarua on the southern side of Mangaia. **MangS**, 127; **Life**, 45. He met Williams in 1833 when Maunganui was described as 'the principal Chief'; he was still a Pagan. John Williams, *Narrative*, 218--20. His title eventually passed to the children of his daughter who had married into the Ngāti Tāne.

Raumea t
|
Te Ka t = Ika'una v
|
Puka v = Tuere t
|
Maunganui t = (1) Ngo v = (2) Te-u v
| |
Tuere-iti t Puka v = Anui t

B, Raumea 2; **MP**, 'Ariki'. Tuere was from Pāpārangi. The identity of Kaiau is uncertain though there was an *ariki pa tai* of this name. He is usually thought to be the Pa'i who achieved the *mangaia* some time after Cook's visit. Ibid.; **B**, Ikoke 6. Perhaps a descendant was being referred to? Nui Maanga a tini was none other than Numangatini, the *ariki pa uta* at the

The Mangaian had questions of his own to ask:

> He enquired very particularly the Vessel's name saying that this was the second vessel they had ever seen Captn Cook's was the first.[94]

The description of the man's physical appearance and his query suggest that he was fulfilling an analogous role to Mourua, seeking to identify the Europeans' intentions. Williams sought to engage the man to accompany the missionaries to Mangaia. At first he seemed willing to oblige but upon getting into his canoe he paddled vigorously away.[95]

The missionaries remained determined to land. Papeiha swam from the boat to the shore and met 'the King' [*ariki ?*], recently identified as Numangatini.[96] Papeiha repeated Williams' request that the *ariki* come on board, but he declined. Papeiha then told Numangatini that they wished to land two teachers and their wives 'to teach him and his people the word of the true God'; the *ariki* agreed.[97] Returning to the ship Papeiha reported that the people seemed quiet and were not at war. Preparations were made to land the missionaries.[98]

Williams' published account of Papeiha's preliminary negotiations emphasises a bellicose response, the Mangaians adopting a defensive posture, some with stones in their slings and others with their spears poised. Papeiha convinced them to put the weapons away.[99] The journal does not report such a response and instead focusses on the mission concerns to discover whether the islanders were at war.

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time.

[94] John Williams, 'Journal'. The *Narrative*, 66, interpolated the indigenous name for Cook: He inquired particularly the vessel's name, saying, that it was the second they had seen; Tute (Captain Cook's) being the first.

[95] John Williams, 'Journal'.

[96] Papa Aratangi, 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 78. Williams' accounts differ over the decision to send Papeiha to the shore. The *Narrative* has the Society Islander proposing to make the landing. The 'Journal' suggests that it was Williams who decided to send him.

[97] John Williams, 'Journal'.

[98] Ibid.

[99] John Williams, *Narrative*, 66.

Upon approaching the shore again Papeiha found that the Mangaians were armed with spears. These were bound up and left on shore at Papeiha's request. The two landings by the missionaries initiated a series of increasingly violent responses.[100] In the first landing the canoe, containing mostly property, was dragged into the bush. Two pigs were carefully wrapped up in cloth and taken to the 'house of the cheif'.[101] Wyatt Gill emphasised the religious nature of this action. The pigs were wrapped in sacred *tikoru* cloth and taken to the Orongo *marae* where they were treated as foreign *atua*.[102] Williams' chief's house probably referred to the seaside residence of the *ariki pa tai* near Orongo. The Mangaians also poured oil belonging to the missionaries over their heads. The canoe left shore only with the greatest difficulty.

Williams' published account records that the Mangaians had resumed a defensive posture before the second landing and had to be asked to put the weapons away. This is not noted in the journal; however, the response to this landing, when the missionaries themselves came ashore, was very violent.[103] The clothes they were wearing were ripped. Haavi's shirt tail was torn into ribbons which were used as head and ear ornaments. Papeiha was nearly strangled.[104] The Mangaians attempted to rape the two missionary wives and were only prevented by Numangatini's intervention. The attack on the women shows up the limitations of his chiefly powers. He was not immediately able to order the men off who were pinning the women down.[105]

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[100] Williams' accounts are unclear regarding the sequence of the landings. The *Narrative* coalesces the event into one landing with teachers and property. However the 'Journal' makes it clear two landings had to be undertaken. The Polynesian missionaries, their families and property had first been loaded onto the ship's boat. Some of the property and at least Papeiha then approached the shore in an Aitutakian canoe that the mission party had purchased. This second transfer was needed to allow the missionaries to cross Mangaia's formidable reef.

[101] John Williams, 'Journal'. In the *Narrative*, 67, a chief is described as casting off his garments, decorating the pigs with these 'insignia of chieftainship' and placing the animals before the gods.

[102] **DL**, 327; SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'.

[103] The missionaries comprised Papeiha, Haavi, his wife and the wife of Tauaa and their children. Tauaa himself remained on the ship's boat with the remainder of the missionaries' property.

[104] This strangling is only reported in *Narrative*, 68--69.

Order was finally restored on shore.[106] Numangatini asked the missionaries 'what they had come for and what was their business'.[107] The missionaries assured him that their only intention had been 'to instruct him and his people in the word and worship of the true God'. Numangatini replied that

> he should be glad to receive them but in his land "All heads were equal" that the people would not listen to him, his influence and Authority was not sufficient to afford them protection he therefore begged them not to be obstinate in remaining.[108]

The would-be missionaries decided to return to the ship. Numangatini 'parted with them weeping'.[109] The mission party agreed to 'renew the attack' in the future using single men who, 'would suffer no other inconvenience than the loss of their property'.[110]

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[105] John Williams, 'Journal'. Cf. Daws, *A Dream of Islands*, 40. WWG, referring to the Mangaians, noted '[they] were plainly intent on killing the men and taking possession of the women'. **DL**, 326. William Gill in *Gems from the Coral Islands*, 132, did not specify the treatment to the women only mentioning the islanders' 'wildness and barbarity'. Similar rough treatment was meted out to both missionary wives and returning Rarotongan women who had been absent for a long time when Williams visited Rarotonga later in the expedition. John Williams, 'Journal'.

[106] The method by which calm was restored differed in Williams' published *Narrative* and in the 'Journal'. In the *Narrative*, 68, Williams reports firing a small cannon, the report driving the Mangaians away. According to the 'Journal' Numangatini was responsible for restoring the peace.

[107] John Williams in *Narrative*, 68, asserts that Papeiha launched into a tirade at the 'perfidious conduct' of the islanders. Numangatini's role is much more passive than that reported in the 'Journal'.

[108] John Williams, 'Journal'. The *Narrative*, 68, gives additional information:

> The chief wept, and assured him of his sorrow; but stated, that, in his island, "all heads being of an equal height," his influence was not sufficient to protect them; and therefore, much as he himself wished them to stay, he would rather they did not come on shore again.

[109] John Williams, 'Journal'.

[110] John Williams, *Narrative*, 69. In his 'Journal' John Williams appended a few remarks on Mangaia. He noted that the people were 'a fine race'; 'the finest without exception that we have seen in the South Seas - they are very white and very clean'.

The treatment of the newcomers, later called 'te apa o Pangemiro' ('the fault of Pangemiro'),[111] may have been affected by the unsettled political state of the island. Pangemiro, of Ngāti Mana'une, the then *mangaia*, was not yet inaugurated for a second reign. This may have contributed to Numangatini's inability to protect the mission party since it was the *mangaia*'s function to ensure that peace was upheld throughout the island. While there was no official recognition of his reign the island would have perforce remained fractious and divided. Numangatini's statement, that all heads were equal, may not only have been a rueful acknowledgement of such a situation but have voiced the Mangaians' characteristic sense of individuality; each preferred to make up his or her own mind, with little recognition of chiefly or priestly authority--a feature they still exhibit.[112]

Williams' *Narrative*, in comparison to the 'Journal', overemphasised the bellicosity of the Mangaians on the one hand, and the weakness of their leaders on the other. The *Narrative* also accorded Papeiha a more heroic role than he had in the 'Journal'. Nevertheless, in general, both texts relate the same suspicion of strangers, the hesitant and fearful approaches, and the militant reaction which characterised Cook's visit.

A coincidence of events now precipitated a change in Mangaian thinking. Soon after the abortive 1823 encounter the island was struck by dysentry, or 'maki eke toto'.[113] Mangaians believed, the missionary texts record, that 'this calamitous visitation' was the vengeance of the '"God of the strangers"'. The property stolen from the missionaries was accordingly cast into a burial cave, Te Po, and vows were made to treat any new missionaries kindly.[114] According to a modern *kōrero*, Iviiti Aerepo, Numangatini summoned a meeting of the *'are kōrero* at a *marae* in Tamarua in 1823; the *kōrero* advised him to accept Christianity.[115] However, this may be exaggerating Numangatini's role as Pangemiro, the *mangaia*, was still alive at this time.[116]

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[111] Te Rangi Hiroa, MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 3.4, Cook Islands Field Notes iv, p. 13, BPBML.

[112] Papa Aratangi, 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 78--79 and fn. 5, 84. The observation about Mangaian individuality was made to Aratangi by a Mangaian pastor, the Reverend Ngatupuna Pareina.

[113] **DL**, 327--28; **MK**, Aerepo, 'Marae Korero'.

[114] Williams, *Narrative*, 69--70; Tyerman and Bennet, 178.

The following year, on 15 June 1824, the Sydney-bound ship carrying the Reverend Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, deputed by the London Missionary Society to visit its missions, dropped off two single men, Davida and Tiare (Tiere) of Tahaa, at Avarua, a landing place on the west coast of Mangaia. The Europeans feared the worst, but the men assured them the Mangaians had received them well and they decided to stay.[117] In fact the Mangaians did take some of the missionaries' property, suggesting a greater degree of continuity between the Mangaian reactions to the two mission visits.[118] As with the 1823 visit Mangaians were also interested in trade, and acting in a bolder manner than the year before came out to the ship to trade for iron and similar European goods.[119]

Mamae recounted the eventful occurrences in 1823 and 1824:

> *Ua tau mai te pai o Wiliamu i te kave i te tara a te Atua, o Āvi te oromedua, Kare ra i āriki ia, ua takinga kino ia, Kare ra i tāia, oki atura i te pai, ua tupu iora te mate o te enua, e rai te mate i te maki, ua kitea iora tetai apinga, tera taua apinga ra, e Kutu teatea, i roto rai i taua mate ra, e roa akera, ua tau akaou rai tetai pai, o Davida e Tiāre nga oromedua, ua āriki ia raua*
>
> Williams' ship landed to bring the word of God. Āvi [Haavi] was the teacher. He was not welcomed. He was ill treated but not killed. The ship turned away. Misfortune descended upon the island. There was much illness. (We) truly saw a being, a white louse, in that calamity. Later on a ship landed again, Davida and Tiare were the teachers. They were welcomed.[120]

The sequence of occurrences supports the European record with one important addition, the reference to a 'white louse'. The Mangaian text twice stresses the veracity of the report. This, and the use of 'teatea' ('white'), a word with several religious connotations in

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[115] MK, Aerepo, 'Marae Korero'.

[116] M&S, 304; Papa Aratangi, 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 77.

[117] Tyerman and Bennet, 177. Identification of the landing place from **Mi 131, 132**, 'Te Orama Numangatini au te Tuatua na te Atua i Tae mai ai i Mangaia'. See below and Chapter 7 for further discussion of this text.

[118] Williams, *Samoan Journals*, 27.

[119] Tyerman and Bennet, 177.

[120] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

Mangaian, suggests that the louse was a form of supernatural entity associated with the disastrous epidemic.

Despite the apparent softening in attitude, at least to the arrival of Davida and Tiare, most Mangaians continued to regard the Europeans as threatening strangers. One account specifically identified the missionaries as supernatural beings--the *tuarangi.* At a great council of the leading men of the island apparently called to discuss the sighting of the mission ship by Numangatini the talk, as the spiritual ruler himself noted, 'concerned the bad spirits' ('na te varua kino').[121]

The earliest reactions of the Mangaians to Davida and Tiare when they leapt ashore strengthens the case for their identification as *tuarangi.* A warrior thrust a spear at Davida and called out 'thou shalt never catch sharks'. Numangatini who was standing near the man arrested the weapon.[122]

Various interpretations have been proferred concerning this enigmatic utterance. Gill himself thought it meant that the new God would never win victories in Mangaia.[123] Papa Aratangi believed the shark symbolised the 'darkness' in which people then lived and which Christianity would have to overcome.[124] Both authors interpreted the words to mean that the mission would not be able to convert chiefs or change the religion. An alternative reading, however, may be that the missionaries themselves would never become anything so significant as the gods or chiefs on Mangaia. This would make sense of Williams' comment that 'the people imagined that the teachers had come to worship their Gods'.[125]

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[121] **Mi 131, 132**, 'Orama Numangatini'. This great Council would not appear to refer to the 1823 meeting mentioned by Iviiti Aerepo, occurring as it does upon the sighting of the second missionary visit in 1824.

In mission texts the indigenous deities in the various island groups were often called 'Evil Spirits' (*Vaerua Kino*). See John Williams, 'Journal'.

[122] **DL**, 328.

[123] Ibid.

[124] 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 81.

[125] Williams, *Samoan Journals*, 28.

The arrival of migrant deities and priests had occurred before in Mangaian experience.[126]

The shark was important throughout Polynesia; it was considered to be a major spirit animal in Mangaia.[127] It continues to have associations with religious experiences.[128] It figures in a number of accounts as a deity or *ta'ae*. The god Tiaio, or Te-aio, a tribal divinity of the Ngāti Vara, could become incarnate in a large, white shark. Significantly, Tiaio had been a renowned *mangaia* before he was killed and later deified.[129] In another story a woman took fright at a shark, forgetting it was the *atua* of her tribe.[130] The shark, like the eel, was considered to exhibit the same aggressive qualities as the warrior.[131] No doubt this resulted from the Mangaians' daily experience of the animal. Sharks were considered to be in competition with fishermen on account of their tendency to snatch fish away as they were caught. Mangaians were forced to catch the sharks as the only way to stop these predations.[132]

The second reaction to the landing by Davida and Tiare shifted away from the bellicosity and violence seen hitherto. The missionary *tuarangi* were incorporated into Mangaian life. The lead in this response was taken by Numangatini. This role had been assigned to him by the great council called to discuss the mission ship's arrival. A chief, Metuaiviivi, told Numangatini to go down to the shore and observe the boat. Numangatini proceeded to his sea-shore *marae* Orongo where he met Davida.[133]

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[126] E.g. the priest Ue landed in Mangaia seeking his god Tāne, exiled from Tahiti; Ue set up a *marae* at Maungaroa. **DL**, 56--59. Motoro, the second ranking god, came from Rarotonga. **M&S**, 25--27. The first *ariki pa tai* is supposed to have also come from Rarotonga. E.g. **DL**, 316.

[127] Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 480--81.

[128] A student minister from Penryhn (Tongareva) Island in the northern Cook Islands ascribed his call to the ministry to a shark attack. Cook Islands Field Diary, 29 April 1988.

[129] **M&S**, 29--30; **DL**, [308]; **MangS**, 171, 175.

[130] **MK**, Tereevangeria Aratangi, 'Te Tua ia Vari Mango'.

[131] Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 394--95.

[132] **Life**, 137--38; Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 362.

[133] **Mi 131, 132**, 'Orama Numangatini'.

Much of the information concerning Numangatini's actions stems ultimately from his dictated text relating the contents and results of two dreams he apparently experienced before the arrival of Christianity.[134] In the second of his dreams he had seen a large ship off Atuokoro on Mangaia's northwest coast line. When he reached the western seashore at the Orongo *marae* he met two people coming ashore at the Avarua landing. He had taken them by the hand and led them to the sacred Kei'a district where they were met by the chiefs Metuaiviivi, Tavare and Maungaati.

After awakening from his dream Numangatini told Metuauti about it. At first light Numangatini sought to confirm his vision sending three children up the mountain to look for a vessel off Atuokoro. They reported sighting one. Numangatini and Metuauti checked it for themselves and then went to Kei'a to make garlands, presumably to put on the arriving strangers. They were asked by many people where the boat was and replied that it was off Atuokoro. In the evening of that day the great Council gathered in Kei'a and gave Numangatini responsibility for dealing with these arrivals.[135]

The men mentioned in the dream narrative can be more fully identified. Metuaiviivi was a *tama va'ine* to Ngāti Tāne. Along with his brother Muraa'i he was adopted into his mother's tribe. His father Atatoa was a member of the Ngāriki tribe and chief (*pava*) of the Kei'a district, he had been slain by a faction of Ngāti Vara led by Kauni'o.[136] Metuaiviivi, in his turn, was 'chief [*pava ?*] of Keia' a year or two before Christianity arrived.[137]

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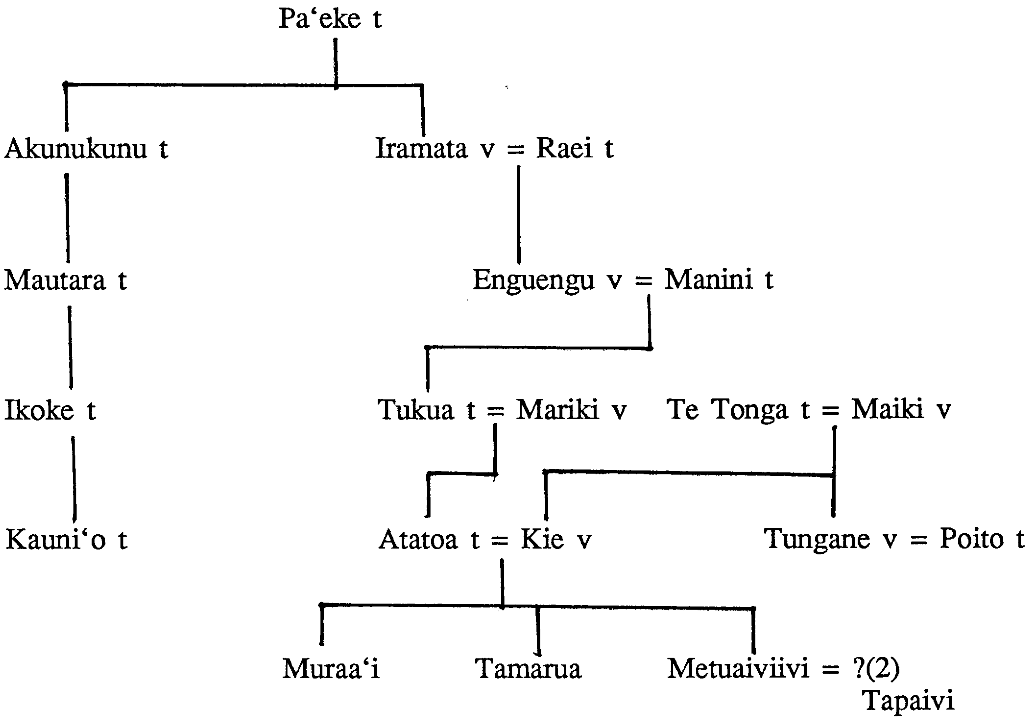
[134] The significance of these dreams and their contents are analysed in Chapter 7.

[135] Ibid.

[136] See Figure 7 for a genealogy of Metuaiviivi.

[137] **Life**, 48. There are a number of discrepencies between the sources regarding the succession of district chiefs in Kei'a. Muraa'i was also *pava* until his death in 1840. He was succeeded by his son Ataiti. Gunson MS; **DL**, 304. Cf. **MP**, 'Tu'anga ia A'ua'u'; **MangS**, 128 which suggest that Muraa'i was either a *pava* and a *kairanga nuku*, or merely a *kairanga nuku*. See Figures 8 and 16 for genealogies of Muraa'i and Ataiti. It seems most likely that Muraa'i had in fact succeeded his brother as *pava*. To complicate matters **MP**, 'Tu'anga ia A'ua'u' also lists Raoa as *pava*. He must have held that office prior to Metuaiviivi and Muraa'i. Alternatively, Raoa may have been a *kairanga nuku*. See further discussion in this chapter. According to Gill, Raoa died a couple of years before the arrival of Christianity. **DL**, 290--95.

Figure 7: Genealogy of Metuaiviivi[138]



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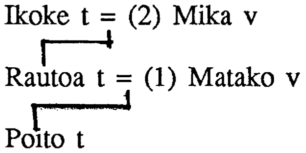
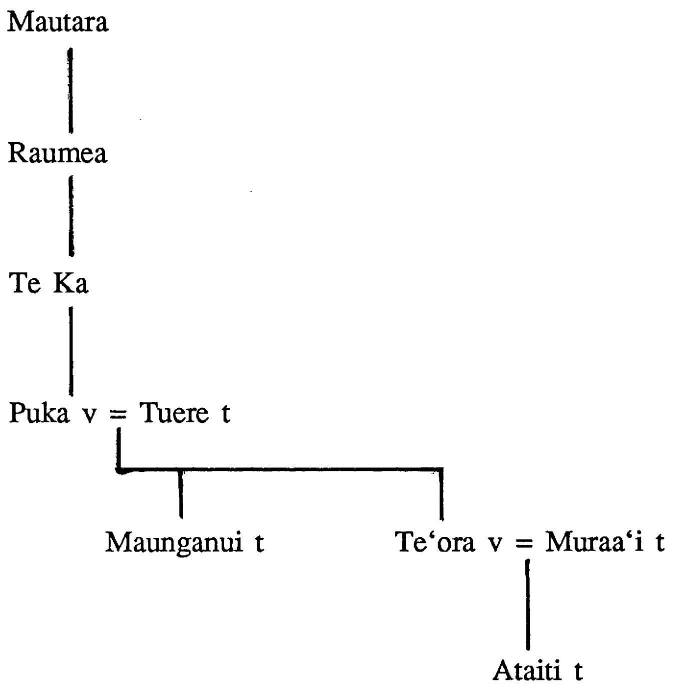
[138] **B**, 'Sisters of Akunukunu'; Gunson MS, Pava Holders of Veitatei; **MangS**, 79--80 table 13; **DL**, 296--97, 299. Manini is apparently the same man who married Mautara's two daughters. Poito was a *tama tāne* of Ngāti Vara.



B, Ikoke 7, 9. The correct birth order of Muraa'i and his brother is not entirely clear.

Figure 8: Genealogy of Muraa‘i and Ataiti[139]



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[139] B, Raumea 2; Gunson MS, ‘Ata Title of Keia’. Tuere and Maunganui were Pāpārangi (Ngāriki).

The identification of Tavare is more difficult. Several men can be identified with this name.[140] The most likely candidate is the brother of Raoa. They were *tama va'ine* to Ngāti Vara; it appears that they were *tama tāne* to Ngāti Mana'une as Raoa was either *pava* or simply a *kairanga nuku* in Kei'a which had been apportioned amongst that tribe.[141] Presumably his brother Tavare had succeeded him, at least as *kairanga nuku.*

Maunga'ati, a chief of Ngāti Tāne, was a close ally of Numangatini; he was described as the priest's 'warlike friend'.[142] Maunga'ati was *tama tāne* to Ngāti Tāne. During the battle of Araeva around 1821 he was expected to sacrifice himself in order to guarantee his tribe success, but instead he stayed at home with his wife. His older brother Arokapiti offered himself.[143] Arokapiti was leader of Ngāti Tāne; he was a *kairanga nuku* in Veitatei in the southwest of Mangaia, though he also appears to have been responsible for selecting the subdistrict chiefs in Kei'a.[144] Maunga'ati had presumably succeeded to his older brother's title.

Metuauti was a *kairanga nuku* in Kei'a.[145] He appears later taking a leading part in Church activities. Maretu depicted him upbraiding William Gill for neglecting to provide soon enough the right measurements for a school house the people of Kei'a and

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[140] See Figure 9 for the Tavare genealogy. Gill depicts one of the younger Tavare stalking victims for the inaugural sacrifices to the reigns of the *mangaia* Makitaka and Koroa. **Jottings**, 105; **Life**, 42. About 1810 one of these younger Tavare, most likely Raoa's brother, tried to kill a brother-in-law and Tonga'iti refugee who was being protected by Raoa. **DL**, 294.

[141] **MP**, 'Tu'anga ia A'ua'u'; **MangS**, 128; **DL**, 290--95. Te Rangi Hiroa asserts that Raoa was a chief of Ngāti Vara. **MP**, 'Property of Conquered'. However, Gill, his ultimate source, is ambiguous on this point.

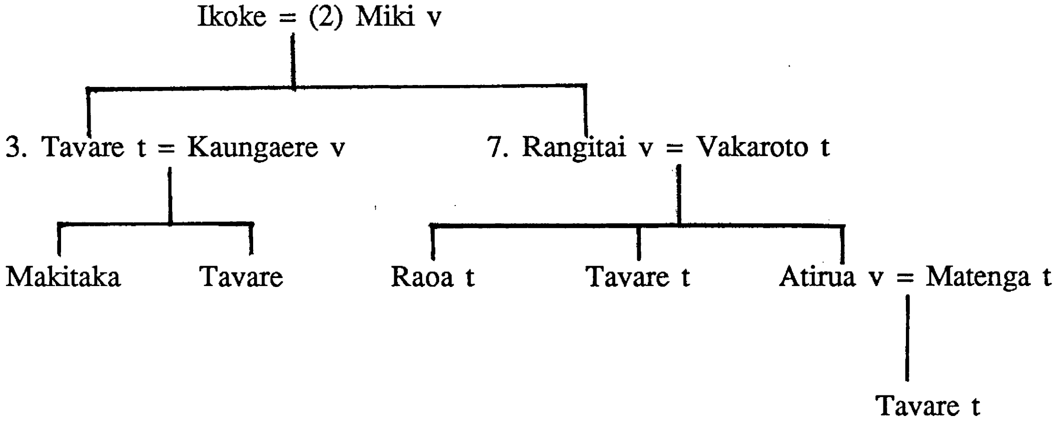
[142] **DL**, 328--29. See Figure 10 for Maunga'ati genealogy.

[143] **MangS**, 82.

[144] Ibid., 127--28.

[145] **MP**, 'Tu'anga ia A'ua'u'; **MangS**, 128. See Figure 11 for a genealogy of Metuauti.

Figure 9: Tavare genealogy[146]



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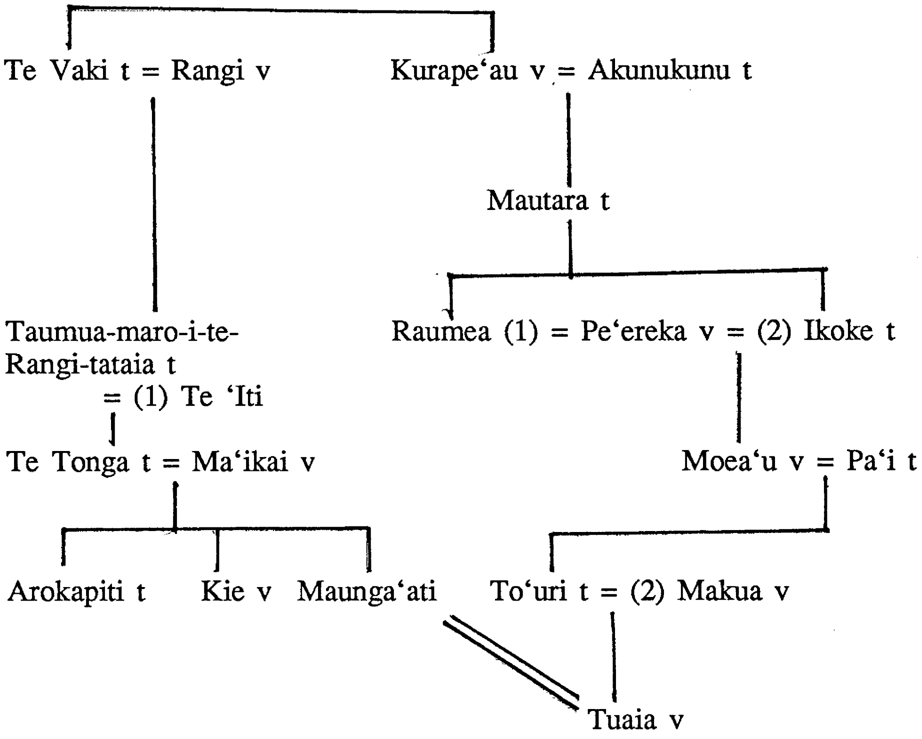
[146] **B**, Ikoke 7, 11; Gunson MS, 'Genealogy of Karari Family'. A more detailed genealogy for Makitaka in **B**, 'Makitaka'.

Figure 10: Genealogy of Maunga'ati[147]



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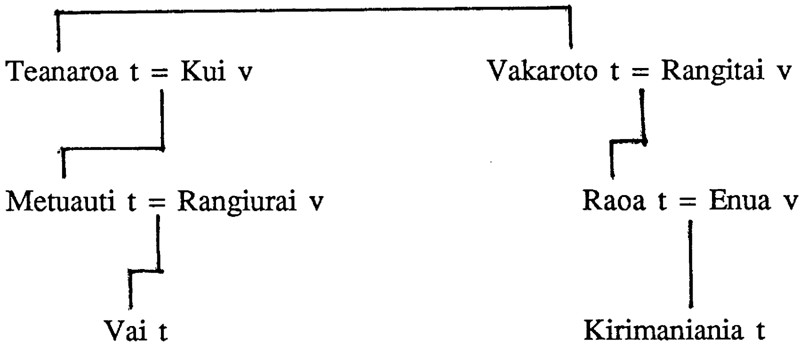
[147] B, Ikoke 6; MP, 'Ngati Tane Genealogy supplied by Tama-ngaro'.

Figure 11: Genealogy of Metuauti[148]



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[148] Gunson MS, 'Genealogy of Karari Family'. Rangitai was a daughter of the Ngāti Vara, Ikoke (see Figure 9); Kirimaniania, described as a 'lesser chief [*kairanga nuku ?*]', was an informant of WWG. **DL**, 290--95; **Life**, 150.

Veitatei were building.[149] William Gill himself enrolled Metuauti (spelt Meduaauti) amongst the deceased Mangaian worthies in an 1856 publication.[150]

A noteworthy feature of Numangatini's dream narrative is the total omission of the *mangaia* Pangemiro. Presumably he would have attended the Council. His apparent non-involvement may have resulted from several factors. First, the continuing failure to inaugurate his reign with a proper human sacrifice had rendered his rule over the whole island a nullity.[151] Second, Mangaian chiefs and warriors were capable, at the best of times, of taking actions independently of a *mangaia* or *ariki*. Third, Pangemiro as a *pava* was not so directly involved since his home district, Karanga, was situated on the eastern side of the island.[152] Finally, since a *mangaia* did not possess any more property than other *pava*, he would not necessarily have had greater influence on the Council.[153] In the crisis precipitated by the coming of the mission the responsibility for handling the situation was devolved upon the *ariki* and the chiefs in the affected area.

In his brief history of the mission Gill extended Numangatini's remembrance. Gill does not acknowledge it but he must have been relying for at least part of his information on the priest's dictated text. The 'humble evangelists', as Gill described them, were 'at once *literally* taken by the hand by Numangatini ... and conducted to his own sea-side *marae* ... to invest their persons with a sacred character'. The rest of the population, unable to enter the precincts, did not follow.[154] Numangatini's actions may have had ritual significance since Hawaiian traditions also record an island's high priest leading a newcomer by the hand to a temple.[155]

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[149] Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts*, 131 (pars. 360--61).

[150] *Gems from the Coral Islands*, 197.

[151] M&S, 304.

[152] MangS, 128.

[153] M&S, 297; MangS, 123.

[154] DL, 328--29.

Te Rangi Hiroa thought Numangatini's action was taken in order to confer safety upon the missionaries.[156] Papa Aratangi viewed it as a kind of induction, dedicating the men to the service of God:[157] a dedication carried out of course by Mangaia's most important religious authority. The identity of the god in question is debatable, though Numangatini may already have believed himself transformed into a follower of Jehovah;[158] nevertheless, it does seem likely that the missionaries were undergoing a ritual incorporation into Mangaian society. This incorporation may have allowed them, as has been recently surmised, to become the new religious authority upon the island.[159]

After a brief rest at Orongo, Numangatini took the two men to his 'ordinary residence' in the island's interior. Gill maintained that all these actions followed a plan prearranged with the chiefs, presumably at the great council Numangatini mentioned in his dream narrative. Gill also believed that Numangatini and Maungaati were deputed to attend to the missionaries.[160] According to a report of a visit by Robert Bourne, the missionary on Tahaa, to Mangaia in 1825, the two missionaries had been 'confined by command of the king in the house of one of the false divinities of Man[g]aia'.[161] Davida and Tiare interpreted the confinement as a way of making them *tapu* 'and the property of the god, to which, if the priest required, they might be at any instant sacrificed'.[162] The detention in a *marae* prior to sacrifice also appears in Hawaiian traditions.[163] The missionaries remained there for three days until Numangatini 'suddenly ordered' their release; he provided them with land, extended them his protection and allowed them to preach.[164]

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[155] Abraham Fornander, *Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore*, ed. Thomas G. Thrum, Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum vol. 4 (Honolulu, 1916--17), 128.

[156] **Advent**, 641.

[157] 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 82.

[158] See **Mi 131, 132**, 'Orama Numangatini' and further discussion of this text in chapter 7. Papa Aratangi came to a similar conclusion concerning Numangatini's religious allegiances in 'Transformation of the Mangaian Religion', 70.

[159] Ibid., 71.

[160] **DL**, 328--29.

[161] Tyerman and Bennet, 178. Another mission text believed that the confinement was ordered by command of 'the deity', possibly meaning Rongo. [George Gill], 'General and Miscellaneous Memoranda respecting the Mission at Mangaia', PS 1187/ 61, NLNZ, ATL.

The interior residence to which the Tahaa men were escorted appears to have been the Akaoro *marae* of the *ariki pa uta.* Numangatini is recorded as sleeping there on occasion.[165] They were either confined to a hut especially built for them, or to a god-house on the *marae.*[166] This was the *marae* to which human sacrifices were first carried as part of the ritual to inaugurate a new *mangaia.*[167] A link between the sacrifice of human beings and the missionaries may have been intended; certainly Davida and Tiare interpreted it this way.

The sudden release after three days may suggest that the chiefs had had to consider what course of action to take; a possible sign that their responses to these strangers after the initial reception was not following any preconceived plan. When Lamont was wrecked in Tongareva, or Penrhyn Island, in 1853, the ship's crew also had to undergo a form of purificatory rite at a *marae*; Lamont had observed that everything required discussion, suggesting that the ritual procedure was being developed as they went along.[168] Numangatini's release of the missionaries can be understood as the action of a chief giving dependents some land and protection: the protective status is neatly described by the term applied to missionaries--'tama'ua a Numangatini' ('child (of the) lap of Numangatini').[169] Mangaian chiefs often extended protection and patronage to war refugees, especially those with religious or technical skills.[170]

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[162] Tyerman and Bennet, 178.

[163] Fornander, IV, 138--40.

[164] Tyerman and Bennet, 178.

[165] **Mi 131, 132**, 'Orama Numangatini'.

[166] **DL**, 330; **Advent**, 641; Tyerman and Bennet, 178.

[167] **MangS**, 182.

[168] Lamont, 121--24.

Numangatini's *ariki* status itself underwent a transformation. He became the *ariki no te 'au* (*ariki* of the peace) and a protector of the mission.[171] He shared the protectorship with several other convert chiefs: Rako'ia and Parima of Ngāti Tāne, the latter described by Gill as 'the special protector and helper of "the servants of God"'; Simeona, a son of the *mangaia*, Pangemiro; and Taunui, Parima's cousin, who succeeded to Parima's trust upon his death.[172] This chiefly protection did not always prevent plots being hatched against the Tahaa missionaries.[173] Members of Numangatini's own family plotted to kill the first convert, the *toa* Metuaarutoa.[174] Even Numangatini's status as *ariki* was not to be without challenges from indigenous rivals and obstinate missionaries.[175]

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[169] Papa Aratangi, 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 39 and n.; Cook Islands Notebook No. 1, information from Aperahama. When explaining the term Aperahama slapped his palms on top of his thighs. Aratangi adopted a slightly different explanation for the origin of the term, suggesting that it originated when separate churches were established at Ivirua and Tamarua. The source of this information was Tereevangeria Aratangi. Papa Aratangi thought 'tama'ua' symbolised 'love'. Savage, 344, notes the term means an adopted or foster child. In Polynesian traditions sons seeking recognition from their fathers would sit on the paternal lap. E.g. Malo, 261.

[170] E.g. Mautara hid Te Vaki the *pi'a atua* of Ngāti Tāne when he was being hunted by the Ngāriki; he protected Namu, an *ariki no te tapora kai* (the third of the three Ngāriki *ariki* titles, responsible for food stocks and overseeing ceremonial feasts). **DL**, 70--71, 156; **MangS**, 64, 117--19. Mana'une, the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Mana'une, protected the carver, Rori. **DL**, 233--34. Te Uanuku saved Vaiaa who possessed medical knowledge. Ibid., 203.

[171] Papa Aratangi, 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian society', 84.

[172] SSL, WWG, 14 January 1867; **DL**, 71, 198. The Ngāti Tāne connections of these chiefs confirms Gill's assertion that this tribe was the first to embrace Christianity. Ibid., 71.

[173] E.g. Williams, *Samoan Journals*, 28; **DL**, 336.

[174] SSL, George Gill (GG), 10 March 1853.

[175] Numangatini was to become locked in a fierce dispute with the first permanent European missionary, George Gill, which led to his temporary excommunication from the church along with Ata, the *kavana* of Kei'a district. Lamont, 82--87. In 1843 Numangatini was actually deposed as *ariki* and replaced by Anakenga, a descendant of Rangi, the founding father of the island. Anakenga was supported by sections of the Ngāti Mana'une, Ngāti Tāne and Ngāti Vara. Numangatini received support from the prominent Ngāti Tāne chiefs Parima and Ata, both *kavana*, and from Te 'Akatauira, a division of Ngāriki, possibly the division from which Numangatini descended. Numangatini was only reinstalled after William Gill arrived from Rarotonga to resolve the dispute. Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts*, 140--41, 145--46.

The Mangaian reaction to the 1823 and 1824 missionary visitations has a number of similarities and dissimilarities to the earlier Cook visit. The greatest difference was the marked interest in trading for European goods evident by 1824. In contrast, the initial attitude to the landing of missionaries in 1823 was entirely in accord with the earlier bellicose reactions to Cook. The connection with Cook is strengthened by the description of the missionaries as *vaerua kino*, i.e. *tuarangi*. The bellicose response was repeated at the second visit despite the chiefs' decision to receive them. The second visit also showed that the primary responsibility for action lay with the local chiefs and most of all with the *ariki*, Numangatini, who ritually incorporated the missionaries within the structure of Mangaian society. The traditionally hostile attitude to strangers however continued to be displayed towards the two missionaries as it had been to earlier visitors.

The accounts of the Cook sighting and the missionary visits to Mangaia emphasise the easy connection Mangaians made between the supernatural, either as descendants of Tangaroa or more generally as *tuarangi*, and any quite different looking and sounding human beings. This inclusion of foreigners was based upon a recognition of their potentially harmful nature. The European records of these encounters also allow glimpses into the functions of the chiefs, the *toko* and the *ariki* in the period before Christianity had its most dramatic impact upon the island's society. Numangatini's own recorded recollection of the events gives a priest's-eye view of the most important religious office in Mangaia. Whereas the warriors sought to physically annihilate the intruders he was able to ritually 're-solve' the potentially threatening and other-worldly *tuarangi* into the island's way of life.

SEVEN

THE DREAMS OF NUMANGATINI

The dreams or visions of Numangatini form a significant document in the surviving textual tracings of Mangaian society. Numangatini's text in particular emphasises certain shamanic features found in the practices of the island's priests. Unlike the ethnographic descriptions which enumerate the functions of the *ariki* positions or the odd priestly *karakia* preserved by Gill,[1] Numangatini's account permits the *ariki* to speak for himself. The work is entitled: 'Te Orama Numangatini au te Tuatua na te Atua i Tae mai ai i Mangaia' ('Numangatini's Dream which Speaks of God's Arrival in Mangaia').[2]

Numangatini was one of the most important Mangaians acting in the events surrounding Christianity's arrival on the island. He probably descended from Te 'Akatauira, a division of the Ngāriki tribe,[3] whose members filled the offices of spiritual ruler. A partial genealogy can be constructed for him from the surviving material.[4] Numangatini's priestly antecedents extended further back in time to Vaeruarau, an earlier *ariki pa tai*.[5]

Numangatini's rise to pontifical greatness rested partly upon genealogical eligibility and partly on the political designs of the *mangaia*. The collective *ariki* were highly *tapu*;

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[1] E.g. **DL**, 315; **M&S**, 31--32, 295--96, 299; **MangS**, 112--19.

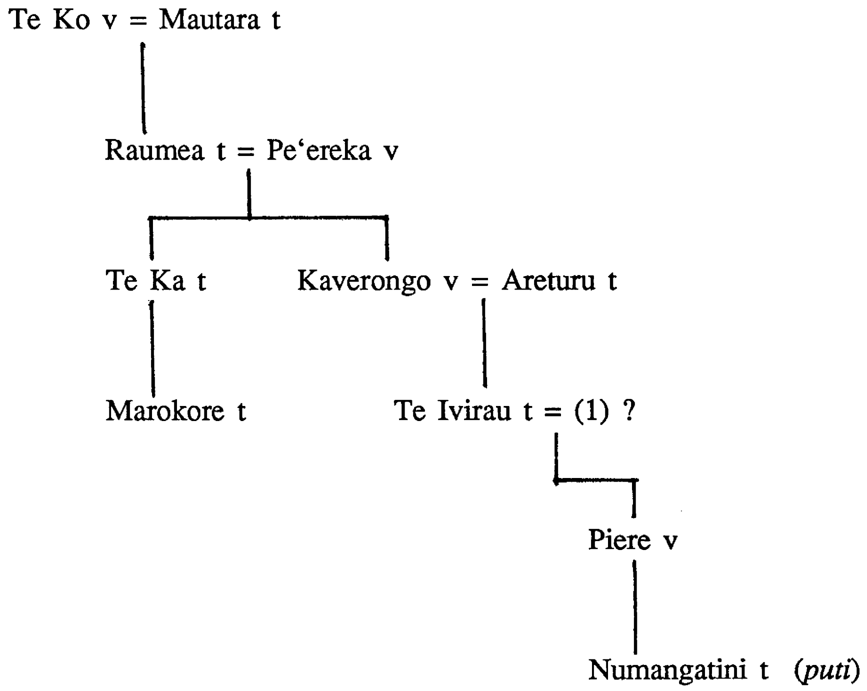
[2] **Mi 131, 132**. The existing dream text appears to be incomplete. The hand has been tentatively identified as WWG's. A sample of Numangatini's writing shows that he was barely able to write. SSL, *Ariki, Kavana*, deacons of the Church, 3 Iunu (June) 1865. Presumably Numangatini dictated the text to Gill. The date of composition cannot be determined with any certainty though it is likely to have been recorded before 1872 when WWG left Mangaia.

[3] **MangS**, 113. In 1843 when Numangatini was deposed temporarily as *ariki* the Te 'Akatauira remained loyal to his cause. See Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts*, 141, 145.

[4] See Figure 12 for a genealogy of Numangatini.

[5] **DL**, 85, 277 fn. 1. See Figure 13 for a genealogy of Vaeruarau.

Figure 12: Genealogy of Numangatini[6]



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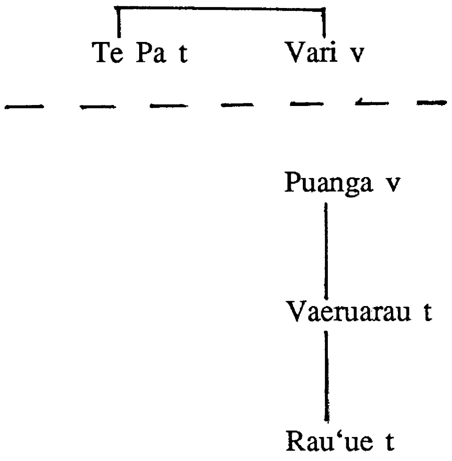
[6] **B**, Raumea 3; MS SC Buck, Group 3 Box 8.28, ‘Portion of a genealogy chart written by Buck’, BPBML; Gunson MS. Amongst Numangatini’s ancestors were Mautara, the *pi‘a atua* of Motoro and a *mangaia*; Te Ko, a member of Ngāti Tāne and a medium for the tribal god Tāne-ngaki-au; Te Ka and Marokore who also filled the office of Motoro’s *pi‘a*; Areturu from the Ngāriki tribe; and his son, Te Ivirau, an *ariki pa tai.* Numangatini’s father is not known; Piere subsequently married Ra‘uitai and had numerous issue. **DL**, 194--95; **MangS**, 62, 71, 120; **B**, ‘Te ara pi‘a’.

Figure 13: Priestly genealogy of Vaeruarau[7]



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[7] **DL**, 315--17; **MangS**, 114--15. There were several *ariki* amongst Vaeruarau's ancestors and descendants, including several *ariki pa tai*: Te Pa; Vari, Te Pa's sister; and Puanga, who succeeded Vari. Puanga's grandson, Rau'ue, was an *ariki pa uta.*

they had the right to nominate victims for the *mangaia*'s inaugural sacrifice. This 'power of life and death', as Gill phrased it, was symbolised by the manner in which they drank from a coconut: a metaphor for the human head.[8] Only the *ariki* had the top of their coconut cut (*tipi take*). The rest drank it through the natural hole.[9] However the *mangaia* had the right to choose or depose the *ariki* from office. The *mangaia* also ceremonially installed the *ariki*.[10] Some spiritual rulers were killed on the *mangaia*'s instructions; Vaeruarau suffered this fate at the hands of the *mangaia* Ngauta of the Tonga'iti tribe.[11]

Upon his accession in about 1814, the new *mangaia*, Pangemiro, selected Numangatini as *ariki pa tai*.[12] Pangemiro deposed Te Ao, the *ariki pa uta*, after a political dispute around 1821 and replaced him with Numangatini.[13] This action was typical of Pangemiro who appears from the scanty historical documentation to have undertaken a series of important social and economic reforms during this period;[14] most likely to fix firmly in place his tribe, the emergent Ngāti Mana'une. Numangatini's dream therefore occurred within the context of a dramatically changing social order.

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[8] **M&S**, 80.

[9] Ibid.

[10] **DL**, 315; **MangS**, 113.

[11] **DL**, 86.

[12] Ibid., 317.

[13] Ibid., 379--80; **MangS**, 83. There appears to be some doubt as to whether Numangatini retained the *ariki pa tai* upon acceding to the higher title. Published authorites believe that Numangatini was the first spiritual ruler to hold both titles. E.g. **DL**, 317. However information from Mamae contradicts this view. See **Mi 131, 132**, List of Battles by Mamae; SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'. A fuller discussion of the evidence is given in Chapter 10.

[14] Papa Aratangi, 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 56--76. So dramatic was the effect of Pangemiro that Mangaians today consider he paved the way for the arrival of Christianity on the island. Ibid., 48.

The manuscript as it exists retells two successive dreams or visions which Numangatini had while asleep.[15]

> He was sleeping in his house at Akaoro. While he slept he had a vision of himself walking inland to the priests' house, a meeting house for the great Council. The house was not white-washed. The priests' house was so named because the priests resided there.
>
> He reached the priests' house and sat on a stone seat ('koatu tarere') in the courtyard ('paepae') of the building. The Council spoke to him about the talk of the land ('te tuatua no te enua'). He did not say anything in reply, just remaining silent.
>
> Then a voice called out to him, 'O *Ariki*, climb up here to me'. (He) looked up into a coconut tree and beheld a white person ('tangata teatea') standing there, pale as a Papa'a [European]. I did not really heed (the call) to climb up the coconut tree to him.
>
> In support of what he had said before, (he) called again. 'O *Ariki*, climb up to me'. I straightened up and climbed the coconut tree to that person who had been calling to me. We sat there for a period of time. The person spoke to me. 'We should sever your head'. I said to him, 'No! My head is sacred ('e upoko tapu taku')'. He said, 'it is not *tapu*, we form one head ('kare e tapu, e ruru taua i te upoko'). I say truly to you that Jehovah is in heaven'.[16] I looked up at the sky and behold! The heavens were truly bright red as if it had been painted on ('kua muramura takiri te rangi mei te parai kura te tu').
>
> He said to me, 'Jehovah is the *atua*, Jehovah is the *atua* in the heavens'. My head was severed. Then he spoke to me, 'we shall fly, you in front of me; I shall fly behind'. I was doubtful. He called out, 'we shall fly'. We flew and alighted upon the *Utu o Tangaroa* at Okio.
>
> He said to me, 'turn your eyes to the sea'. I looked and lo! A whiteness like the Orongo marae's pebbles from above and below ('E Ina, teatea anake mei [a/o?] Orongo te tu i kirikiri mei runga e raro'). He said to me, 'this is your city; there you will sit and speak with God'. He laid his hand upon my head, and kissed the right side of my forehead. He said to me, 'we shall go'. He vanished. I woke from that sleep. And lo! That talk was a dream.
>
> Another day came and he dreamt again. The second dream occurred at Tavaenga where he was sleeping in a house at Atiu Marama. One day he saw a ship at Atuokoro. He observed that it was a large ship. He went to look at it. He reached the shore at Orongo. He saw two people upon the boat land at Avarua. He took hold of their hands and led them to Kei'a. There Metuaiviivi, Tavare and Maungaati arrived from Vaitirota. (They) did not reach Kei'a directly. He awoke. He dropped his hand from the men. Metuaiviivi and the others came along to Kei'a. He sprang up from that dream.
>
> He called to Metuauti, 'I slept tonight'. Metuauti asked him, 'what did you do in your sleep?' I replied, 'a boat came ashore at Atuokoro; I saw two men; we led them to Kei'a: Metuaiviivi, Tavare, Maungaati and myself'.
>
> When it was light I called out to three children to go up the mountain and see whether a ship was ashore at Atuokoro. They looked toward the sea. They saw the ship ashore at Atuokoro. They called, 'a small thing not held fast' ('kua ee maira ratou e mea ngiti ua kare i mou ta mai'). He called out to Metuaauti, 'we

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[15] The Mangaian text is in Appendix C. The first dream opens the story. A stylistic peculiarity of this text is its shifts between the third and first persons. This feature is reproduced in the following English retelling. The text is a close paraphrase of the original Mangaian.

[16] The text after 'you' forms a new page in the manuscript. The following arrangement of the text is conjectural as the pages themselves are not numbered.

> shall go and look at that boat up on the mountain'. They went to look, and beheld a large ship. They went to Kei'a to make garlands ('ta ngaei'). Many people asked, 'where is the boat?' We called, 'at Atuokoro, on the shore'.
>
> In the evening the great council gathered at Kei'a in the priests' house that I saw in the first dream. There the talk concerned the bad spirits ('varua kino'). Metuaiviivi told me, 'you should go to the shore and observe the boat'. When dawn arrived I went to the shore at Orongo. While I was looking Davida landed onshore ('kua tau Davida ki uta i taingakoro'). I and another person went to fetch him. We were on the reef. Tiare got into his canoe at Avarua and I led them [i.e. the missionaries].

Understanding a dream requires much the same procedures of interpretation as any other sort of text; as Jung observed, 'the dream should be treated as a fact, about which one must make no previous assumption except that it somehow makes sense'.[17] In Polynesia dreams were regarded as 'manifestations of the gods'.[18] Their contents were taken seriously; plans could be drastically altered as a result of a contrary dream.[19] However the processes of interpretation appear not to have followed any prescribed course. Kamakau admitted that dreams varied and were often in the form of 'parables' which were difficult to interpret.[20] Expert advice was sometimes sought from priests; the Governor of the Hawaiian island of Maui, Keaumoku, once even asked the local missionaries to interpret his dream.[21] Firth believed that in Tikopia there was no systematic scheme for telling dreams, nor any formal technique of interpretation. Whether they were taken seriously or not depended upon the 'emotional intensity of the personal situation', or on how far it related to a question at issue on the 'social horizon' of the dreamer.[22]

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[17] Carl G. Jung, 'Approaching the Unconscious', in Carl G. Jung et al., *Man and his Symbols* (London, 1964), 18.

[18] Tuta Nihoniho in Best, *Maori*, I, 227; S.M. Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko*, trans. from *Ke Au 'Oko'a* by Mary Kawena Pukui, arr. and ed. Dorothy B. Barrère, B.P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 51, ([Honolulu], 1964), 57; Oliver, 69.

[19] CIC, 22; Best, *Maori*, I, 225--29; Best, *Tuhoe*, 1001--1004; Fornander, V, 612--14; VI, 90, 92, 102, 104, 124--30; Henry, 226--27; Kamakau, 56; Te Rangi Hiroa, *Ethnology of Mangareva*, 51--52.

[20] Kamakau, 56.

[21] Tyerman and Bennet, 125. For a more detailed examination of expert Hawaiian dream interpreters, see Jane Bathgate, '*Moe 'uhane*--The Dream: An Account of the Dream in Traditional Hawaiian Culture', *Pacific Studies* 13, 2 (March 1990), 62--65.

[22] Firth, 'Meaning of Dreams', 163.

In parts of Polynesia dreams were classified into different types. In Hawaii Kamakau distinguished several forms of dreaming states: the *hihi'o*, or dream at the moment of falling asleep; the *moe 'uhane*, or dream in deep sleep, (this appears to have been the kind of sleeping dream Numangatini had); and the *akaku*, or vision.[23] In New Zealand dreams appear to have been categorised according to the dream's form: the *moemoeā, rekanga kanohi, moe*, or dream; the *moepapa*, or unlucky dream; the *kuku*, or nightmare; the *moe whakaineine*, or insulting dream; the *moetoa*, or confident dream.[24]

In the light of Numangatini's dreams a few descriptions from other islands are worth noting. Kamakau listed 'dreams of a canoe [and] a foreign ship'. Some of the waking visions (*akaku* or *kuaka*) he mentions are also suggestive:

> Some who have such visions see the angels of heaven flying in space, and the heavens opened, and the depths of the ocean exposed, and villages there in the deep ocean, and people walking on the surface of the sea.[25]

The biblical overlay is quite obvious, nevertheless, the experience of flight and other superhuman experiences derive from an indigenous source. Similar dreams are recorded in New Zealand:

> To dream that you are flying through space, pursued by another person, is lucky, so long as he does not catch you, but unlucky for you if he does.[26]

Dreams were experienced by the *vaerua* (spirit) of a sleeping person; the person's spirit could travel about and in every way act as a real being.[27] As Prytz Johansen explained the Maori understanding of it: 'The dream is real, but moves on another plane than that of everyday life'.[28] In the Society Islands dreams could come unbidden by the sleeper; however, certain persons developed this experience into a profession coming to be regarded in a similar light to the inspired priests and priestesses.[29] Like Numangatini's first dream on the Akaoro *marae* dreams were often experienced while a person slept on a *marae*.[30]

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[23] Kamakau, 55. See also Bathgate, 58--59.

[24] Best, *Tuhoe*, 1002--03, 1013; Herbert W. Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 7th ed. (Wellington, New Zealand, 1975), 204.

[25] Kamakau, 56--57.

[26] Best, *Tuhoe*, 1003.

[27] M&S, 165--66, 177; CIC, 22; Bathgate, 60--61, 65--70; Best, *Maori*, I, 225--28; Best, *Tuhoe*, 1002; Henry, 220--23; Oliver, 69--71; Prytz Johansen, *Maori and his Religion*, 255--57.

[28] Ibid., 256. Cf. Firth, 'Meaning of Dreams', 165.

The form and presentation of the dreams followed a certain pattern throughout Polynesia. Firth noted that dreams were willingly retold in Tikopia. They were related casually either after waking up or during an odd moment of leisure in the course of the day. They were recounted 'in good narrative style, with the native attention to detail and command of dialogue, sometimes with a strong affective reaction.'[31] This description fits the sort of text encountered elsewhere: a narrative interpersed with spoken dialogue. A dream sequence was usually announced in as many words in the opening. The sequence often ended by noting that the dreamer had woken up. Most dreams, like those of Numangatini, contained crucial information or instructions; the subsequent narrative showed how the characters made use of it.[32]

A more detailed segmentation reveals the variety of data in Numangatini's dreams. The first dream is the richest in ethnographical detail:

I. OPENING: Setting of dream
1. Numangatini walks to priests' house.
2. Explanation: priests' house: meeting place.

II. MEETING
1. Numangatini arrives at Council meeting.
2. Council speaks to him about 'talk of the land'.
3. Numangatini is silent.

III. CALL, 1
1. A voice calls out to Numangatini to climb up.
2. He looks up at coconut tree.
3. He observes a white man.
4. Expanded description of man's appearance.
5. Numangatini ignores call.

IV. CALL, 2

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[29] Oliver, 71.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Firth, 'Meaning of Dreams', 163.

[32] Best, *Tuhoe*, 28--29, 373, 383; Fornander, IV, 442, 498, 536; V, 74, 162; VI, 489--91; Te Rangi Hiroa, *Ethnology of Mangareva*, 30, 54; Von den Steinen, 76, other versions, ibid., 84--85.

1. Man repeats call to climb up.
2. Numangatini heeds call.
3. He climbs tree.
4. They sit in the tree.

V. PROPOSAL, 1

1. Man proposes to sever Numangatini's head.
2. Numangatini protests: head is *tapu.*
3. Man claims they are united.
4. He instructs Numangatini to look at Jehovah in the heavens.
5. Numangatini looks at sky.
6. Description of sky.

VI. CONSENT, 1

1. Man renews claims for Jehovah: an *atua* in heaven.
2. Numangatini's head severed.

VII. PROPOSAL, 2

1. Man proposes to fly.
2. Numangatini is doubtful.

VIII. CONSENT, 2

1. Man renews call to fly.
2. They fly.
3. They alight on Barringtonia tree of Tangaroa.

IX. INSTRUCTIONS

1. Man tells Numangatini to look to sea.
2. Numangatini observes whiteness.
3. Expansion: whiteness likened to Orongo gravel.
4. Man tells Numangatini that he will speak with God at city.
5. Description of man's gestures: hand on head; kisses right forehead.

X. ENDING

1. Numangatini awakes.
2. He realises it was a dream.

Jung stressed the importance of understanding the 'dream-images' themselves before undertaking any interpretation of their meaning; in other words, the context of the dream.[33] In principle this follows the same exegetical methods as for other forms of text. The opening sentence of Numangatini's narrative leads the reader directly into the first dream: 'He was sleeping in his house at Akaoro'. Akaoro was the 'national' *marae* of the *ariki pa uta.* Numangatini walked from there to the priests' house for a Council meeting. Judging from the brief description of the building and its uses it may have been Mangaia's national godhouse, Te Kaiara, opposite Araata, the tribal *marae* of the Ngāriki. These structures were not far away from Akaoro. Te Rangi Hiroa described Te Kaiara as 'a poorly made house of reeds'; confirming Numangatini's description of the priests' house as not white-washed, i.e. in the traditional building style.[34]

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[33] 'The Practical Use of Dream-analysis', *Jung: Selected Writings*, selected and introduced by Anthony Storr (London, 1983), 178; 'Approaching the Unconscious', Jung, ed., *Man and his Symbols*, 12--14.

Tyerman and Bennet described a somewhat similar complex to Mangaia's priests' house on their visit to the *marae* complex along the southern border of Lake Maeva on Huahine. They were accompanied by a former priest:

> Close behind [the first *marae* where the kings of Huahine were buried] was another enclosure, thrice the length and twice the width of this [i.e. about 40.7 m (135 feet) by 12.2 m (40 feet)]; the whole raised to the height of five feet above the ground; the walls of oblong, and the pavement of flat, stones, forming a pretty level platform. On this were held the national councils, when the kings, priests, chiefs, and landowners assembled to determine questions respecting peace, war, or other great public concerns. ... The political and priestly orators who were wont, at such times, to harangue the multitude, often displayed no mean powers of savage eloquence.[35]

The segment where Numangatini is addressed by the white person on the coconut tree incorporates the first dialogue in the account. The encounter with someone in a tree exists in other Polynesian traditions. In the Hawaiian legend of Hoamakeikeula a man saw something bright in a tree and upon looking up discovered that it was a woman hiding in the vines. He told her to come down. In another legend from Hawaii a man, Kaulu, hid in the leaves of a tree until he saw his brother emerging from a house.[36]

The encounter also has certain religious connotations. The coconut tree may have been the one which existed on the Araata *marae*. This particular coconut tree was 'of a rare yellow kind [*nū tea* ?]'.[37] Yellow was a divine colour associated with Motoro, whose *marae* this was, as well as with other gods.[38] Like the sacred precincts the tree was *tapu* and could not be climbed or its fruit eaten.[39]

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[34] **MangS**, 172; **DL**, 331; see Map of Mangaia, p. xvii, of this thesis.

[35] Tyerman and Bennet, 76. Also quoted by Oliver, 887. Henry, 134, described the use of *marae* by chiefs and priests for certain ceremonies. In Hawaii the *hale naua* may correspond to the type of meeting place Numangatini is describing. See Malo, 191--92, 200 fn. 7.

[36] Fornander, IV, 538; V, 364.

[37] **DL**, 133 fn. 1.

[38] See fn. 76 Chapter 6 for discussion of the significance of the colour yellow in Polynesia.

[39] **DL**, 133 fn. 1.

The term used to describe the colour of the man, 'teatea', also described the colour of the pebbles (*kirikiriteatea*) on *marae* such as Orongo.[40] Savage gives another apt usage of *teatea*:

> *No te teatea o te pona e te reureu, kua manako ia te etene e, e anau na Tangaroa.*
>
> Because of the whiteness of the shirts and the loincloths, the heathens thought they were children of the god, Tangaroa.[41]

A certain lightness, most likely a golden colour, was associated with Tangaroa: Gill referred to this deity as having 'sandy hair', and added that, 'to this day a golden-haired child is invariably addressed ... as "the fair-haired progeny of Tangaroa"'.[42]

The cutting of Numangatini's head is only one example of a complex motif in Polynesian ethnographic literature. In this instance the spiritual ruler emphasised his personal sanctity--his *tapu* head. The added association of this segment with the existence of Jehovah suggests that this episode should be understood as a form of ritual desanctification; a transformation from the Mangaian to the Christian system of religion.

The transformation of religious states was also marked by another symbolic action. Any Mangaian man who sought conversion immediately asked to have his long hair cut.[43] As John Williams observed: 'When speaking of any person having renounced idolatry, the current expression was, "Such an one has cut his hair."'[44] This practice had traditionally been used to mark a number of personal states, in particular that of mourning.[45] In

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[40] Savage, 106.

[41] Ibid., 370.

[42] **M&S**, 13.

[43] **DL**, 330; an illustration of this sign of the new religious affiliation in William Gill, *Gems from the Coral Islands*, opposite 160. The hair cutting applied only to men; women in pre-contact Mangaia, according to WWG, wore their hair short. **DL**, 330 fn 2. An account of the hair cutting of the first Mangaian convert, Metuaarutoa, in SSL, GG, 10 March 1853.

[44] *Narrative*, 221 fn. A description of the hair cutting to mark conversion is recorded for Aitutaki in the Cook Islands. John Williams, 'Journal'.

[45] E.g. Best, *Maori*, I, 273; Fornander, IV, 146; Edwin M. Loeb, *History and Traditions of Niue*, BPBMB 32 (Honolulu, 1926), 86; **M&S**, 181; Oliver, 492.

Mangareva it also served to indicate a state of war, pregnancy, or the initiation of neophyte priests.[46]

The interrelated symbolism of cutting hair and cutting the head is clarified in the New Zealand evidence. The Maori considered the head to be very *tapu* while the hair of the head, as the part of the body with the most rapid growth, was considered the site of the *atua*'s greatest activity and therefore of the greatest sacredness.[47] Not surprisingly, New Zealand Maori believed it was most unlucky to dream of having the hair cut.[48]

Severing the head, or any other body part, involved more complex symbolic meanings. Much relied upon the status of the victim. If he or she was an enemy, excreting upon their body, cutting the head or a limb, or subjecting them to other forms of abuse such as torture, or disembowellment marked that person's state of utter degradation as a human being.[49] The most extreme degradation of course was to eat the antagonist. A classic example is Tumatauenga's consumption of his brother gods in New Zealand Maori cosmology: the text explains this as a form of rendering them *noa*, or not *tapu*.[50]

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[46] Te Rangi Hiroa, *Ethnology of Mangareva*, 78, 104--105, 428--29, 432.

[47] Hanson and Hanson, 50. Examples and more general context for this statement see ibid., 55--56; Best, *Maori*, I, 272--74.

[48] Ibid., 228.

[49] E.g. Loeb, 143--44, 156; Oliver, 509; Hanson and Hanson, 83--84, 170. The most pitiable state of living degradation was to become a war slave. Ibid., 180--85.

Examples of such practices can be found throughout the ethnographical literature. The degradation theme is not always mentioned but the context usually makes it obvious. E.g. DL, 212; Te Rangi Hiroa, *Ethnology of Mangareva*, 357; Tatuava Tanga et al., *Atiu Nui Maruarua: E Au Tua Ta'ito* (Suva, 1984), 18; Fornander, IV, 204, 292, 308, 342, 350; V, 276; Hanson and Hanson, 138; Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 156.

The arrival of Christianity did not always put a stop to these activities. In Niue a Christian convert had his head chopped off by supporters of the traditional priests. Loeb, 36. In Mangaia in 1828 the Christian converts slew 20 pagans 'chopping the Idolators to pieces with their axes tho' they besought them on their knees to spare them for the sake of the Son of God'. John Williams, *Samoan Journals*, 28. In their defence the Christian party acted under provocation as the opponents were threatening to make use of their teacher's skull as a drinking cup. John Williams, *Narrative*, 209.

[50] Grey, *Mahi*, 4--5; *Polynesian Mythology*, 9.

The severing of a body and its subsequent burial was also linked to a notion of fertility, particularly when the subject was connected to the practitioner, either as friend, leader, deity or ritual sacrifice. The buried head of the *tuna* (eel) was considered to be the origin of the coconut tree. The eel, usually depicted as a god, had its head severed at its own request either by a woman, often a lover, or by a man and a woman.[51] In Rakahanga and Manihiki the head of a recently deceased chief or priest was severed and replaced by a coconut. The head was used as part of the ritual to calm the seas.[52] In Mangaia parts of the inaugural human sacrifice were buried to ensure the growth of food during the ensuing reign.[53] A famine could be used to force a *mangaia* from office since he could no longer guarantee such a prosperous state of affairs.[54]

The significance of the head in Polynesian beliefs was emphasised both in ritual practices and in tradition. A European observed that in Mangareva the head and right arm of a corpse was severed from the body, wrapped in separate pieces of cloth, and lashed to the corpse.[55] A Manihikian story relates how the head of a warrior was buried separately from the rest of his body in order to prevent him coming back to life.[56] Many accounts depict a head continuing to speak after it had been severed from the rest of the body.[57] Such behaviour was sometimes interpreted as a sign of divinity. Hawaiian tradition relates how the wife and brother-in-law of a man realised he was a god when his head remained alive after the rest of his body was consumed by fire.[58] In the same collection Namakaokahai proved her supernatural powers by speaking after her head was severed and reassembling her body once it had been cut up by her husband, Aukelenuiaiku, at her command.[59]

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[51] **M&S**, 78--79, 80--81; Kate McCosh Clark, *Maori Tales and Legends* (London, 1896), 68--75; J.F. Stimson, trans., *The Legends of Maui and Tahaki*, BPBMB 127 (Honolulu, 1934), 33; Henry, 617--621; 'Te Taratara no te Tuna, no te Nu oki/ The Story of the Tuna (Eel) and the Coco-nut', *JPS* XXI, 3 (September 1912), 125--26/ 127--28; WWG, 'The Coco-nut Palm: A Tahitian Myth', *Leisure Hour (LH)* (1893), 778. In other variants human heads formed the source of the tree. Henry, 421--23.

[52] **DL**, 149.

[53] **MP**, '8. The Lord of Mangaia'.

[54] E.g. **Life**, 326; **MangS**, 73.

[55] Te Rangi Hiroa, *Ethnology of Mangareva*, 496.

[56] K[auraka] Kauraka, coll., trans. and ed., *Tales of Manihiki* (Suva, 1982), 11; Kauraka Kauraka, coll., trans. and ed., *E Au Tuatua Taito no Manihiki/ Oral Traditions of Manihiki* (Suva/Rarotonga, 1987), 1.

[57] Te Rangi Hiroa, *Ethnology of Mangareva*, 196, 358; Kauraka Kauraka, coll., trans. and ed., *Legends from the Atolls* (Suva, 1983), 37; Fornander, IV, 564.

Numangatini's emphasis on the *ariki*'s personal sacredness and the connection of the body with the supernatural or divine, as well as with the land's fertility, is borne out by the fate of one of Numangatini's past priestly colleagues, Namu, the *ariki no te tapora kai*,[60] or the ruler of food. Namu had a number of priestly connections.[61] During his lifetime Namu acquired a reputation for supernatural abilities after recovering from an apparently mortal wound received during a battle. When he was killed some years later his limbs were cut off and buried in different parts of the island to prevent him returning to life.[62]

The *ariki no te tapora kai* was the third of the three *ariki* titles on the island. The office holder was a member of the Vaeruarangi division of the Ngāriki tribe. He maintained the island's food supplies; presided over the division of food at the feasts terminating major religious rites; officiated at the ceremonies inaugurating the new fishing season; and declared *ra'ui*, or restrictions, on particular food stocks.[63] The close connection of this *ariki* to the maintenance of the island's food may have been another reason why Namu was buried in different island districts. The Mangaian *ariki* collectively were always intimately connected to the land since they were believed to descend not only from

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[58] Fornander, V, 528--32.

[59] Ibid., IV, 68--70.

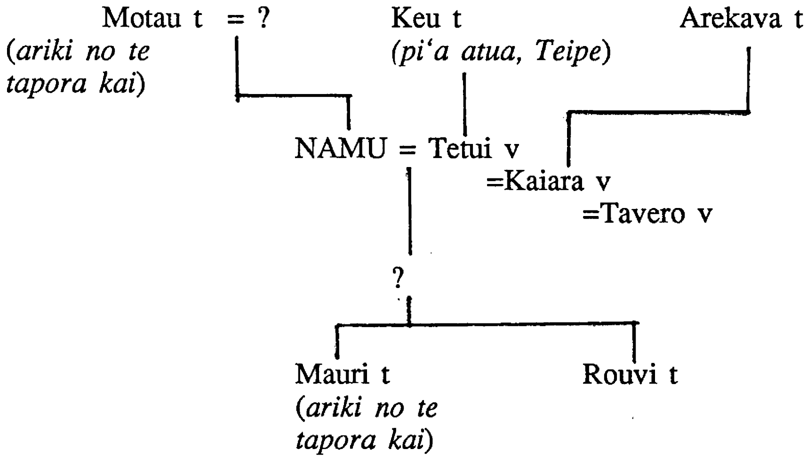
[60] More correctly, the *ariki i te ua i te tapora kai*, the spiritual ruler presiding at the head of the food basket. **DL**, 314; **MangS**, 117. Te Rangi Hiroa translated *ariki* in this context as 'high chief', a misreading of the Mangaian understanding of the term.

[61] See Figure 14 for a genealogy of Namu.

[62] **DL**, 157--58.

[63] **MangS**, 117--19; **DL**, 149--50.

Figure 14: Genealogy of Namu[64]



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[64] Motau was killed by the Tonga'iti who were at odds with the Ngāriki. Keu protected Namu even though it was Keu's own tribe, the Tonga'iti, which was trying to kill the *ariki*. Tetui later became a slave in Mautara's household. Mautara restored Namu to his title and lands. Kaiara and Tavero were kin of Tetui whom Namu protected from Mautara. They became his secondary wives. John Williams met Mauri, the last *ariki no te tapora kai*, and tried to convert him; he was not successful. *Narrative*, 213--14. Rouvi became a convert and an informant of Gill. **DL**, 151--58, 187--91, 314.

Rongo, the father of the gods and chiefs, but also, on their mother's side, from the common people--the people of the land.[65]

The flight undertaken by Numangatini and the white man is a motif found elsewhere in Polynesia. Various deities and mythical personages, most notably Māui, made flights, either to other parts of an island, to other lands, or more notably to otherworlds below or above the earth.[66] In Manihiki's traditions Māui had a flying competition with the god Tangaroa.[67] In Hawaii a flight was made with the aid of a club.[68] A number of these journeys were accomplished with the aid of birds. Māui is said to have flown in, upon or transformed into several species of bird, most notably the *rupe* (pigeon), or the *torea* (golden plover).[69]

Birds in Polynesia were often associated with various gods.[70] In the Society Islands the *pirai* bird was considered a deity; it was a white bird about the size of a dove. It was believed that it saved men who fell out of breadfruit trees by flying beneath them.[71] In Mangaia this same bird, spelt *piraki*, was proverbially known for its ability to fly very high. Mamae, in one of his sermons, associated this bird with human flight: '"So when called away from earth, may we all, like this famous bird, soar upwards to God and heaven"'.[72]

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[65] **Jottings**, 113.

[66] E.g. Tanga et al., 6f.; Kenneth P. Emory, *The Island of Lanai*, BPBMB 12 (reprint, Honolulu, 1969), 12; Fornander, IV, 52, 56, 58, 72--74, 470--76, 522; V, 414, 514--16; Kauraka, *Legends from the Atolls*, 22; Kauraka Kauraka, *Manihikian Traditional Narratives: In English and Minihikian [sic]: Na Fakahiti o Manihiki: Stories of the Cook Islands* (Papatoetoe, New Zealand, 1988), 12, 25, 39; Te Rangi Hiroa, *Ethnology of Mangareva*, 361; Tyerman and Bennet, 72, 76.

[67] **M&S**, 68; Kauraka, *Manihikian Traditional Narratives*, 9.

[68] Fornander, V, 142, 148.

[69] E.g. Stimson, 18, 21, 35; **M&S**, 52--53, 56--57, 59; Katharine Luomala, *Maui-of-a-thousand-tricks: His Oceanic and European Biographers*, BPBMB 198 (Honolulu, 1949), 41f., 55, 154, 183, 187, 224; Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 62--68, which recounts the ascent of Rupe, or Māui-mua, to the heavens.

[70] E.g. **Jottings**, 99--102; **M&S**, 35; Oliver, 59--60.

[71] Tyerman and Bennet, 67.

[72] **Life**, 134--35; SSP 1, 'Rev. W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'. The image of bird flight was also associated with the flight of *vaerua*. Kites were another image for the spirits of the dead. See ibid.

Several flying episodes suggest the kinds of stories told throughout the islands. In Manihiki, Nuinui, a woman healer, was carried away by hostile spirits (*tūpāpaku*); she was flown through the air on a platform. The spirits finally decided to kill her by dumping her out at sea. Fortunately her spirit helper, Mōkara, was able to rescue her and fly her back to her village.[73] A story from Rarotonga has interesting parallels with Numangatini's dream; the following is a summary of Gill's retelling.

> Two men were travelling at the base of a lofty mountain when they were given chase by an enormous lizard. They climbed up to the top of a coconut tree but found the lizard still following them. They pelted it with coconuts until the supply was exhausted. The men cried to their god and an immense snow-white bird came and carried them away on its back to the summit of the mountain. The men still fearful that the lizard might find them were eventually carried up into the skies where they became stars.[74]

Another experience of flight echoes the Numangatini account, being a report of a journey made by the person's *vaerua* in a dream. The dreamer was one of two Society Islanders who boarded a ship in 1799 and ended up in England where they were befriended by members of the London Missionary Society. The men were later placed in a school run by the Moravian Brethren, in Mirfield, West Riding, Yorkshire, where the dream occurred.

> "You told me that my soul could not die, and I have been thinking about it, how it is. Last night my body lay upon that bed, but I knew nothing of it, for my soul was very far off. It was in Tahiti. I am sure that I saw my mother and my companions there. I saw the trees, and the houses, and the hills, just as I left them. I spoke to the people, and the people spoke to me; and yet all the while my body was lying quite still in this room. In the morning I was come back again into my body, and was at Mirfield again, and Tahiti was a great many miles off, over the sea. Now I understand what you say about my body being put into the earth, and my soul being somewhere else; and I wish to know where it will live then, when it can no more return to my body as it did last night."[75]

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[73] Kauraka, *Tuatua Taito no Manihiki*, 1--3; Kauraka, *Tales of Manihiki*, 11--13. These texts do show some modern influences, e.g. people are observed going to Church; nevertheless, the essential story clearly predates the Christian era.

[74] Life, 139.

[75] Tyerman and Bennet, 180--81. The narrative, originally told in broken English, was apparently rewritten for publication in Tyerman and Bennet's volume. Presumably the editor, James Montgomery, composed the finished text.

The evidence of this dream suggests that the dreamer, 'Mydo', continued to comprehend the Christian instruction he was receiving within a Tahitian religious framework.

The tree upon which Numangatini alighted in his vision, the 'utu o Tangaroa', or Tangaroa's *utu* (*Barringtonia speciosa*), may have been specifically dedicated to Tangaroa, possibly on his single Mangaian *marae*.[76] Trees were invariably planted in these religious structures, being considered a medium for the gods. The descriptions of the gloomy atmosphere of the *marae* occasioned by the surrounding growth of trees suggests that they also contributed to the religious mystery of the place.[77] The use of trees in religious practices continued to be observed in the early Christian period. In both the Society Islands and Mangaia converts repaired to groves of trees to pray; Gill noted approvingly that, 'like Nathanael of old', the Mangaians retired to such places at midday where each Church member had his (or her ?) own tree.[78]

The final part of Numangatini's first dream completes the notion of a religious transformation. He saw a whiteness like that of his Orongo *marae*; this was to become the place where he would communicate with Jehovah, the Christian god. In the text he calls the place a city ('oire'), a biblical coinage, which may have been a reference to the original name for the first Christian village on the island; Gill noted that it was called 'God's town'.[79]

The laying on of hands and the kiss on the right forehead each have distinct provenances. The hand laying sounds a distinctly biblical note: compare the line from Mark 8:33 'kua tuku iora i tona rima' with Numangatini's expression 'kua tuku iora aia i tona rima'. On the other hand the prominence of the forehead can be found in a number of stories in Polynesia. This part of the head appears to have been especially sacred. In

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[76] In Atiu a child was raised by its spirit-ancestor in an *utu* tree, Te-Utu-o-Ngarue, named after a famous hero. Tanga et al., 15.

[77] E.g. Oliver, 70; Tyerman and Bennet, 33.

[78] **DL**, 331; Tyerman and Bennet, 37.

[79] **DL**, 330.

Mangareva the flesh from a victim's forehead was torn off before he was slain. It was later cooked in a separate oven from the rest of the food and eaten first.[80] The forehead was not tattooed, suggesting that it may have been too sacred.[81] Hawaiian traditions also highlight the forehead. In one account a quarrel began after a protagonist's forehead was cuffed.[82] Some stories tell how the forehead acted as a weapon. An incident in the legend of Kaulu recounts how the forehead of Lonokaeho ascended to heaven and came down again to strike and kill Kaulu who had been calling Lonokaeho names. Kaulu managed to thwart the attack by using an incantation.[83]

Kissing (*'ongi*) the forehead was probably a traditional form of farewell. A Mangarevan story relates how a departing father pressed heads with his eldest son.[84] In New Zealand the traditional gesture of welcome continues to be the *hongi*, or pressing together of noses.[85] The Cook journals made some observations on Mangaian practices. Anderson recorded that they applied 'the nose to that of the stranger much after the manner of the New Zeelanders'. He added that Mangaians also rubbed the visitor's hand 'with force upon their mouth and nose'.[86]

The first dream describes the progressive conversion of the spiritual ruler, Numangatini, from *ariki* to follower and communicator with Jehovah. However the language of this transition continues to hark back to an indigenous interpretation of the world. Numangatini's attention is directed to Jehovah in the heavens: the sacred status of which is emphasised by the redness of the skies, a highly venerated colour throughout

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[80] Te Rangi Hiroa, *Ethnology of Mangareva*, 33.

[81] Ibid., 181.

[82] Fornander, IV, 106.

[83] Ibid., IV, 530--32. In other accounts Lonoaeho has eight foreheads. Ibid., V, 328, 370.

[84] Te Rangi Hiroa, *Ethnology of Mangareva*, 53.

[85] E.g. Best, *Maori*, I, 437.

[86] J.C. Beaglehole, 830.

Polynesia. The heavens, *rangi*, are also associated with Tangaroa, the absent deity of Mangaia.

Tangaroa's role in the conversion story is emphasised when Numangatini alights upon his *utu* tree. The dream makes several other allusions to this god. The word 'teatea', lightness or whiteness, used to describe the man in the coconut tree and the gravel on the *marae*, was identified with Tangaroa. When Numangatini received his final instructions his attention was first directed seawards, in other words to the *tuarangi*, the domain of Tangaroa. It was on the sea edge that Numangatini was to establish his new city of Jehovah. Similar associations between Jehovah and the god Tangaroa occurred elsewhere in the Pacific.[87]

Further evidence of the potential for Mangaians to run these deities together is shown by some of the early conversations they had with the Tahaa missionaries.

> 'Where does your God live?'--'In heaven.'
> 'What is His name?'--'Jehovah.'
> 'Does your God eat food?'--'God is a Spirit. He is not like us; He lives for ever. It was He that made the earth, the sky, and all things. He made us.'
>
> ...
>
> They next inquired *why* they came to Mangaia. 'We come to make known to you the true God Jehovah, and His Son Jesus Our Saviour.'
>
> Amongst other things Davida remarked that all who believe in Jesus will go to heaven (sky) [i.e. *rangi*].[88]

The apparent coalescence of the gods Tangaroa and Jehovah is confirmed by an incident Maretu recalled while serving as pastor on Mangaia in the early 1840s.

> One day I returned to Veitatei where a man named Aere lived with his two wives. He wanted nothing else but them. He knew nothing about God; and said he had no food but Jesus Tangaroa.
> "Who told you that?"
> "That is the information our ancestors left with us," he replied.[89]

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[87] E.g. in Rarotonga, Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts*, 56 (Para. 39); in Samoa, W.N. Gunson, 'Non-missionary Religious Developments and Cults Initiated in Samoa in the Period 1800--1835', MS, [1970], 23. A more general coalescence between indigenous religious concepts and those of the missionaries was observed in the Society Islands. See H.A.H. Driessen, 'Outriggerless Canoes and Glorious Beings: Pre-Contact Prophecies in the Society Islands', *JPH* XVII, 1 (January 1982), 15--17.

[88] **DL**, 329--30.

[89] Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts*, 122, 124 (Para. 337).

Maretu argued that Tangaroa was not part of Jesus' name. It has been suggested that the latter reference simply served as a generic word for God; Aere, according to this interpretation, meant the god Tangaroa.[90] However the evidence supports a more literal reading, that Aere referred to a melding of the Christian god and an indigenous deity. Numangatini's vision confirms Aere's other claim that such an understanding had been left him by his ancestors.

Tangaroa has been described as a master sky shaman.[91] Shamanic elements exist in several segments of Numangatini's first dream. They reflect certain important aspects of the shamanic initiation.[92] Like Numangatini, shamans experienced a call to their religious life in the form of a dream.[93] The candidate would often be approached by a divine or semi-divine being and told of his or her selection. Such beings instructed and guided the neophyte through the perils of acquiring his or her shamanic powers. An important feature of the shamanic initiation was the shaman's own experience of death and resurrection through bodily dismemberment, including decapitation. Many initiation narratives relate magical flights to the heavens or the underworld and encounters with greater deities who might impart knowledge. Some narratives tell of the neophyte being taken to the tree of life. This tree appears in shamanic literature in many guises connecting the three cosmic regions of sky, earth and underworld. It was associated with ideas of the world's fertility and perenniality.[94]

The evidence of shamanic initiations emphasises the transformatory theme in Numangatini's dream. The *ariki* meets a semi-divine tutelary spirit, the white man atop the sacred, yellow coconut tree,[95] who initiates Numangatini into his new status as communicator with Jehovah-Tangaroa. The initiation is marked by Numangatini's decapitation. The flight through the sky and the landing on the *utu* tree of Tangaroa represents Numangatini's encounter with Jehovah-Tangaroa. His new status is firmly established by the setting up of a city for the new deity. The *ariki* is translated to a new religious position.

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[90] Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe in ibid., 122 fn. 30.

[91] Gunson, 'Tongan Historiography', 6.

[92] For a general discussion of initiations on which this paragraph is based see Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, trans. Willard R. Trask (London, 1964), chapters II, IV; Joan Halifax, *Shamanic Voices: A Survey of Visionary Narratives* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1980), 37--48, 50--52.

[93] Eliade, 103--104. Some examples of such calls in ibid., 16--17, 18, 21.

[94] Ibid., 270--71.

Shamanism existed, in varying degrees, throughout Polynesia.[96] The ethnographic literature for the Cook Islands, no less than elsewhere, preserves examples of shamanic influence.[97] In Mangaia the most obvious indication was the favouring of ecstatic practices amongst Mangaian priests--the distinguishing characteristic of shamans.[98] Other evidence for such practices continues to exist in Mangaia's mythological stories.

One important feature of a shaman's technique was the ability to ascend to the heavens or descend to the underworld, usually to fetch back a departed soul. This was often accomplished by means of magical flight, either assisted by or in the form of a bird.[99] Several important Mangaian stories recount such journeys. Eneene took his god ('idolo' ('idol') in the indigenous text) Tumātaraua (or Tumatarauua) and descended into 'Avaiki, the otherworld, in order to fetch his wife back. She had fallen from a *pua* tree; this species of tree was used by the dead to descend from this world into 'Avaiki.[100] Shamans were usually assisted by helping spirits in their work.[101] Ngaru also descended to 'Avaiki where he defeated Miru, goddess of the dead, with the help of his divine grandparent Moko. He later ascended to heaven and defeated the gods there.[102] Māui appears in Mangaian myth as descending in the form of a *rupe* (pigeon) to the otherworld as well as conquering Ru, who supported the skies, and Rā, the sun.[103]

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[95] Interestingly, the local name for a coconut tree, *nū*, is similar to *'nu*, meaning a 'strand (of rope)'. The term for rope, *taura*, is the same word used for a shamanic priest. Savage, 185, 366. Perhaps Numangatini is unconsciously associating the *nū* with the *'nu* of the *taura*? Did the *nū* tree have particular shamanic associations which are now obscured? The *nū* in question was probably a *nū-tea*, suggesting further shamanic associations.

[96] Gunson, 'Tongan Historiography', 4. Eliade, in his classic work on shamanism, 373--74, thought that evidence for shamanic techniques in Polynesia existed only sporadically or in half-forgotten ceremonies which had become sports, such as kiteflying. He suggested that any vestiges of the earlier shamanic ideology was likely to be found amongst the secret traditions of the sorcerers. However, Eliade's views about the occurrence of shamanism in Polynesia ought to be taken with a grain of salt. Subsequent studies do suggest a greater frequency than he allowed for.

[97] The Cook Islands *taura*, rope or shamanic priest, is particularly associated with Tangaroa and Māui, both of whom have shamanic associations: *taura atua a Tangaroa* = 'a priest whose special duty ... was to officiate as a priest of the god, Tangaroa'; and, *taura a Maui* = 'the ropes of ... Maui'. Savage, 366.

[98] Eliade, 4, 8, 88, 183--84.

[99] E.g. Ibid., 93--94, 98--99, chapters IV, VII, IX, X passim; illustrations of shamanic flight, often in the shape of birds, in Halifax, *Shaman: The Wounded Healer* (London, 1982), 24, 86--87.

Stories of kiteflying too have shamanic echoes since the sport can be interpreted as a recollection of the shaman's heavenly ascent.[104] The Mangaian song recalling Tāne's kite flying challenge against his brother Rongo suggests such shamanic parallels. The kites are described as *manu* or birds, a common means of shamanic transportation. In Mangaia kites were sometimes bird-shaped.[105]

Na tere manu a Raka	WWG: Pets of Raka who rules o'er the winds.
E manu peru au e	WWG: I am a bird (*i.e.* kite) of beautiful plumage.[106]

The song elsewhere referred to the ability of Rongo's kite to reach 'te aka i te rangi' ('the edge of the sky'); the same phrase used to denote the arrival of Cook-Tangaroa from the *tuarangi.*

Na Rongo te vai ra *I te aka i te rangi*	WWG: Yes; twas Rongo's Whose kite touched the edge of the sky.[107]

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[100] G 45, 'E Tara no Eneene'; M&S, 221--24.

[101] Eliade, 88--95. Examples of spirit helpers in healing narratives in Halifax, *Shamanic Voices*, 108--12, 118--23.

[102] G 45, 'E Tara ia Ngaru'; M&S, 225--36.

[103] G 45, 'Tera mai taua Kete Amo ra'; M&S, 51--63.

[104] Eliade, 367.

[105] M&S, 123 fn. 2 and illustration, ibid., 122.

[106] M&S, 123; G 45, 'Pee no nunga i te Kapa a Akatonu'.

[107] M&S, 124; G 45, ' Pee no nunga i te Kapa a Akatonu'.

Echoes of shamanic practices are also preserved elsewhere in the traditions of the Cook Islands. Notable amongst these is the story about Nuinui told in Manihiki. This island and its neighbouring atoll, Rakahanga, are situated in the northern Cook group. These atolls share a number of cultural features with Tongareva (Penrhyn Island), New Zealand, Rarotonga and the Society Islands.[108] The published version of this story is set in the early days of missionary activity.[109]

Nuinui, a 'taunga' or 'tahunga', healed people who were possessed by 'tupapaku' ('demons').[110] She removed objects, such as coconuts, crabs or birds, which had been inserted in a body by a spirit ('tupapaku' or 'mauri'), using her bare hands. She was assisted by the spirit Mōkara, who had formerly been a strong warrior in the heathen times. At his death he had been decapitated. As a result his spirit ('vaerua' or 'mauri') appeared headless. When Nuinui wished it she would call upon Mōkara to enter her and give her energy on her travels. Other spirits harassed her and endeavoured to drown her. However Mōkara would always fly her back to shore. The other spirits would flee away. Because they were jealous they plotted to kill her.

One day while Nuinui went to relieve herself,[111] she was carried up into the heavens ('mareva') by a whirlwind. To her surprise she found herself on a platform surrounded by unfamiliar spirits.[112] She called for help but her voice did not make a sound. She tried again with the same result. The *tūpāpaku* had stolen her voice. That day Mōkara had flown to distant islands. The spirits flew Nuinui into the sky, away from her village.

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[108] Te Rangi Hiroa, *Ethnology of Manihiki and Rakahanga*, BPBMB 99 (Honolulu, 1932), e.g. 5, 11--21.

[109] Kauraka, *Tales of Manihiki*, 11--16; *Tuatua Taito no Manihiki*, 1--3. The following summary is based upon the English and Rarotongan translations. Reference was made where appropriate to the original Manihikian text. Where two indigenous words are cited together, the first is Rarotongan and the second, Manihikian.

[110] The texts of this story do not mark the diacritics in *tūpāpaku*. When quoting the story I have therefore not inserted the macrons.

[111] Part of the original text is not included in this summary.

[112] The Rarotongan translation does not mention the platform being surrounded by spirits. However it is in the Manihiki and English versions.

Nuinui was taken around the island by the spirits who gathered at the sound of a wooden gong ('pate'). They were glad because with her death the people whom the spirits desired to kill could no longer be revived. One spirit, Tohoatangata, came up to Nuinui. He said he could not assist her because there were too many other spirits. He wished Mōkara was there. It became noon while they were flying from the cemetery at Tūko to the sea where Nuinui was to be drowned. One *tūpāpaku* scraped the flesh inside a coconut and gave it to Nuinui to eat. She looked inside the coconut shell and saw live maggots from a decayed corpse.[113] She threw the shell scrapings into the sea. The *tūpāpaku* laughed at her.

Before the spirits cast Nuinui into the ocean Tohoatangata quickly called out that they ought to show her at their *marae*, in other words, to their kin.[114] They took her to Rakahanga where the *tūpāpaku* celebrated the killing of Nuinui with dance and song. They decorated her with garlands for the head, neck and skirt made from the yellow leaves of the *puraka* plant. The *tūpāpaku* teased, abused and laughed at her. Nuinui thought of Mōkara. In the middle of the night she was to be killed. While the *tūpāpaku* were enjoying themselves they heard a wind blowing and they all cried out, for the wind was

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[113] This is an expansion in the English translation. The Rarotongan, for the last phrase, reads: 'E iro tangata mate to roto' ('A dead man's maggots inside'). Cf. Manihiki: 'He ngāiro tangata mate na mea i roto'.

[114] The English version departs from the Rarotongan at this point. The English for Tohoatangata's cry:

> "Wait! We haven't completed the rounds. We should continue to Rakahanga to show this woman to our kins [*sic*] there and then we'll kill her."

The Rarotongan reads:

> *"Aria ana, kare i pou ake i a tatou i te atoro i to tatou au marae. E ngari ake tatou i te rere ki Rakahanga i te turoto i to tatou marae i reira. Kia oti, ka ta ei i teia vaine."*
>
> Wait! We have not completed looking at our marae. It would be better for us to fly to Rakahanga to stand within our marae there. When that is done, then kill this woman.

Since a *marae* in Rarotonga was not only a religious structure but a social gathering place it seems likely that the *marae* is to be understood to refer to the *tūpāpakus*' relatives at these places. The phrase 'i te turoto i to tatou marae' ought then to read 'to stand amongst our kin gathered at the marae'. *Turoto* signifies an intimacy, close acquaintance, contact, trust or familiarity. Savage, 401.

The Manihiki form of this text reads:

> *"Aikore a i pau o tatou rae. He ngari ake tatou i te hano ki Rakahanga i te mātaki i o tatou rae i reira. Kia oti ka patu ai i na mata o te vahine nei."*

Mōkara. The *tūpāpaku* fled away and hid. Mōkara flew to Nuinui's side. He took hold of her right hand. Tohoatangata took hold of her other hand. They led her away, flying toward the ocean, above the surface of the sea, from Rakahanga to Tūko.

A girl going to defecate discovered Nuinui amongst the rocks.[115] Her body was trembling.[116] A boat called Mākinikini which belonged to her family went to fetch her. Upon Nuinui reaching her village her daughter removed the yellow *puraka* leaves, burnt them and dressed Nuinui in her garment. Nuinui was unable to speak for three nights and three days. Her body shook.[117] She would not eat any food, only drinking water. She remained alone inside her house. On the fourth day she regained her voice. She called out to the household to come to her. They sat around their grandmother. Nuinui hugged her grandchildren and told of her kidnapping as tears tumbled down.

Nuinui, like the shaman, is a healer of the physical and psychic health of her community, protecting them from the designs of malevolent spirits.[118] However, her protective guardianship involves her not only in an intimate association with the otherworld, but lays her open to certain peril. On the one hand, like all shamans, she had the ready assistance of certain spirit helpers. On the other hand her very success as a healer inevitably excited other spirits to try and kill her. All shamans faced such perils in their dealings with the world of the spirits.[119]

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[115] Part of the original story is not included in this summary.

[116] This passage is not in the English translation.

[117] This passage is not in the English translation.

[118] There are quite a number of shamanic healing narratives. E.g. Eliade, 182--83, 215--49, 299--310, 323--24, 326--31; Halifax, *Shamanic Voices*, 160--73, 186--87. Eliade, 373, argues that Polynesian healing did not belong to shamanism proper because it lacked the flight of the soul, though it was part of an archaic complex. However, as earlier narratives show flights were not uncommon motifs. Eliade, it must be remembered, had a limited knowledge of Polynesian religion based on published secondary sources.

[119] E.g. Eliade, 202, 229; Halifax, *Shamanic Voices*, 123. The dangers encountered by shamans were especially perilous and terrifying for the neophyte: e.g. ibid., 37--48, 85, 97--98, 151--55; Eliade, chapter 2 passim.

Other motifs in the story such as the description of the whirlwind appearances of different spirits;[120] the flights through the sky, including the flying platform;[121] and the doings of the dead, reflect the extensive knowledge of the beyond possessed by shamans. This knowledge is graphically illustrated when Nuinui rejected the proferred coconut containing maggoty flesh. In Polynesia the coconut symbolised the human head.[122] The coconut Nuinui was given may have betokened her own death.

The healer is eventually saved through the intervention of her own spirit helpers, in particular, Mōkara. The mention of his earlier decapitation suggests that in his lifetime he may have been thought to possess supernatural powers--an ideal spirit helper. He may have been one of Nuinui's ancestors. The return of Nuinui to the bosom of her family is as traumatic as her experiences of the dead. Her physical state and reclusive behaviour suggests the shamans' slow reentry into human life after an ecstatic journey into the beyond.[123]

NUMANGATINI'S SECOND DREAM prophesies the arrival of strangers to the island. They prove to be the two Tahaa missionaries Davida and Tiare. The structure and text of the vision may be briefly summarised:

I. OPENING: Time and location of dream.
II. DREAM
1. Numangatini sees a large ship at Atuokoro.
2. He investigates.
3. He goes to the shore at Orongo.
4. He observes two men landing at Avarua.
5. He takes their hands.
6. He leads them to Kei'a.
7. Metuaiviivi, Tavare and Maungaati travel to meet them.
III. AWAKENING

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[120] E.g. Ibid., 92, 359, 423--24; Halifax, *Shamanic Voices*, 167.

[121] Halifax has an illustration of an Eskimo shaman flying with the aid of a magical sled pulled by a spirit-goose. *Shaman*, 62.

[122] M&S, 80; Gunson, 'Tongan Historiography', 8.

[123] E.g. Eliade, 197, 203, 247; Halifax, *Shamanic Voices*, 47, 60, 147, 153, 168, 185.

1. Numangatini drops the men's hands.
2. Metuaiviivi and the others come to Kei'a.
3. Numangatini springs up from the dream.

Predictions of the arrival of strangers, particularly Europeans, were recorded in many Polynesian islands during the nineteenth century.[124] Clairvoyancy was an attribute of many shamans and other religious.[125]

In Mangaia, apart from Numangatini's vision, other predictions were made about a new order. One was by the Ngāti Tāne chief Arokapiti, shortly before he voluntarily offered himself as a sacrifice in battle, about 1821. Arokapiti, though primarily distinguished as a warrior and chief, was descended from several priests and mediums, including two *pi'a atua* of Tāne, Te Vaki and Vaekura, as well as Kurape'au, a medium for the same deity.[126] Gods would sometimes manifest themselves directly to non-priestly persons:[127] chiefs, especially, were considered abodes of a tribal god.[128] Arokapiti's utterance arose during a quarrel with his uncle, Paa:

> *Kua pupu au i [toou ?] atua, e kua momonono i roto i te kaoa mato, kare oou atua. Ka kimi koe, aore. Ka tiaki au i toku [--?] e tama ou [ia ?] te aka o te rangi*
>
> I have collected all your idols [and] hidden them in the holes of the rocks. You have no gods at all. Seek as you may, it will be in vain. As for me I wait for a "new king" who shall come from the edge of the horizon.[129]

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[124] For a detailed consideration of the prophetic tradition in Polynesia and the predictions of European arrival see Driessen, 3--17. Examples of such prophecies in **DL**, 261; **Life**, 340--42; Fornander, VI, 285; Henry, 4--5, 430--31; Loeb, 34; Te Rangi Hiroa, *Ethnology of Mangareva*, 93--94, 445; Turner, 24, 73.

[125] E.g. Eliade, 184, 304.

[126] **Life**, 341; **DL**, 195, 313. See Maunga'ati genealogy, Figure 10, in Chapter 6 for Arokapiti's ancestry.

[127] E.g. Papa Aratangi, 'Transformation of the Mangaian Religion', 33--36.

[128] **CIC**, 9.

[129] SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'. WWG provided another English rendering of Arokapiti's prophecy in **Life**, 341:

> I await a new king from the edge of the horizon, who will give peace.
>
> I go to the Spirit-land to send you the new king.
>
> Your god [Tāne] has been hidden by me in the rocks. You may weary yourself in searching for him, but will never find him again.

Gill thought that this last statement referred to 'a mighty revolution in worship and polity' since the physical image of the god Tāne was never lost, presiding in the national godhouse until it

The 'tama ou' (the '"new king"') was identified by later Mangaians with Jesus.[130] Another prophecy was made by the Ngāti Tāne *pi'a atua* Pangeivi, or Erika'a, who announced that 'God from heaven is coming to Mangaia; he is already at the horizon'.[131]

The significance these predictions would have for Mangaians became apparent in the ensuing years. The new reign of the *mangaia*, Pangemiro, which began after the 1821 battle, was never satisfactorily inaugurated before Williams's first missionary foray in 1823. As a result, according to Gill, Mangaians 'were thus expecting the inauguration of a new and prosperous era by a stranger, who should "pierce the solid blue vault" of heaven [*te aka i te rangi*]'. He added: 'They still love to call the Gospel "the true drum of peace beaten by King Jesus"'.[132] The references to 'King Jesus' (*Ariki Iesu ?*), and the drum of peace (*pa'u aka'au*), emphasise the efforts Mangaians made to combine indigenous religious notions with the new beliefs. The prophecies of Arokapiti, Pangeivi and other Mangaians that someone such as Jesus would soon come from the horizon links this expectation to Cook and Tangaroa; they too came from the horizon--the *tuarangi* or *aka o te rangi.*

While the reception of the missionaries by Numangatini and the ruling chiefs has been gone into elsewhere,[133] the significance of Numangatini's prophetic vision and its relationship to the first dream requires consideration. A segmentation of the general organisation of the entire narrative highlights the relationship.

I. First dream.
II. Second dream.
III. Results of second dream.
    1. Announcement.
    2. Relation.
    3. Confirmation.

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was given to the London Missionary Society. Ibid.; **DL**, 332.

According to Pōkino Aperahama there was a lot of fighting in Veitatei and Arokapiti sought to establish peace by uttering his prophecy which Aperahama rendered: 'The call of heaven is coming to Mangaia'. Cook Islands Notebook No. 1.

[130] SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'.

[131] Cook Islands Notebook No. 1. Information from Aperahama.

[132] **Life**, 341; **M&S**, 301.

[133] See Chapter 6.

4. General island reaction.

The first dream initiates the story, leading immediately to the second with the simplest of textual bridges: 'Another day came and he dreamt again'; the reader is plunged into the shorter second dream. The rest of the text is an elaboration of this dream sequence. The rapid organisational shifting from the first to the second dream suggests that Numangatini intended a reader to make a close link between the two sections; the contents of the first prefiguring the material in the second.

The first dream explained Numangatini's transformation from *ariki* to communicator with Jehovah-Tangaroa. His credentials with the Tahaa missionaries would have been well established by this religious translation. The second dream, viewed in this light, is simply the logical outcome of this process of transition. Numangatini, already ensconced as a conduit to the new deity, predicted the arrival of strangers whom he ritually incorporated into Mangaian society and permitted to preach. He became the mission's protector, a 'defender of the faith', against any forces malevolently arrayed against it.

Numangatini's later actions and comment confirm this interpretation of the dreams. He took the leading part in meeting arriving missionaries such as Maretu.[134] He expressed his own view of his role in an exhortation delivered in 1870:

> My children, I have one word to say to you all. When I am gone take good heed of the Word of God. Do you chiefs, all of you, unite to make it grow. Let no evil spring up in your day. Take care of my missionary and the native pastors. Do you all, chiefs and people, receive into your hearts and cherish the Word of God. Then you will prosper body and soul.[135]

In his consideration of Polynesian prophecies of European arrivals in the Society Islands Driessen suggested that they legitimised the new political order established by the Pomare dynasty. They were, in short, 'techniques of adjustment' whereby society could harmonise or unite the old with the new, providing 'a socio-psychological preparedness' that cushioned any likely impact from future events.[136] Numangatini's dream narrative can be said to achieve the same ends in Mangaia. It legitimised Numangatini's new position and provided Mangaians with a degree of psychological cushioning by which to interpret the new events. However, this cushioning effect was also a part of the traditional functions of the *ariki* who served as the psychic guardians of the island community.

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[134] Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts*, 102--103, 112 (pars. 273, 275--78, 296--98).

[135] **Life**, 149--50; SSP 1, 'Rev W.Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'. In the MS Numangatini added after 'grow': 'you the chief of Tamarua, [and] you the chief of Ivirua; [and] you of Karanga [and] you three chiefs here at Oneroa too'.

Evidence for the impact these predicted forces were to have on Mangaian society can be found throughout the island's culture. The Akaoro *marae*, scene of part of the *mangaia*'s inauguration, and the place where Davida and Tiare were detained, became the first Christian chapel.[137] Similar transformations of the pre-Christian religious structures were made in the Society Islands.[138] A song composed to commemorate the arrival of the good news in Mangaia dramatised the extent of the social revolution:

Paku te pa‘u i Māruа
Ua ‘āngi ‘aere i Mangaia
Na te tama a te atua e-
Kavea ra i te ‘au ‘oki no Pangemiro
Na poro‘ūri atu ai e-
Kave ta‘i takinga e-
Ko‘atu tanu i Marae‘ara
E ‘uri pae na ta‘i pā‘u ta‘ito ia ne‘e
Kave ake ta‘i takinga e-

The drums sound on Marua
The news spreads throughout Mangaia
By the son of the god.
Take the power of the reign of Pangemiro
And cast it aside.
Take up a new generation.
The stone planted at Marae‘ara
Represents an old generation from antiquity,
Take up a new generation.[139]

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[136] Driessen, 10--11.

[137] **DL**, 330.

[138] Tyerman and Bennet, 33.

[139] **B**, ‘Pe‘e’. The translation is presumably by Te Rangi Hiroa. Gill described Mārua as ‘the sacred fount’. **DL**, 300 fn. 1. Maraeara, a *marae* in Kei‘a, was, according to Te Rangi Hiroa, the place where the chiefs discussed matters concerning the economy, law and justice. **MangS**, 176. The planting of a stone on a *marae* symbolised the planter's innocence of a suspected crime. **MP**, ‘Raumea’.

The casting aside of the rule of the *mangaia* meant a radical transformation in the way Mangaians conducted their affairs. No longer was political or economic hegemony to be decided by force of arms. Instead, Numangatini and the ruling chiefs were to found a new order, based upon the old but incorporating a Christian ideology for the structuring of society.

EIGHT

THE 'PEACE' OF THE PEACEMAKERS

Mangaians, like many other societies, were governed by two complementary rulers, concerned with matters spiritual and temporal respectively.[1] The spiritual rulers, the *ariki*, dealt with physical and psychic threats to the community from the otherworld. They presided over important island rituals such as the inauguration of the fishing season, or the new *mangaia*. Their persons were considered extremely *tapu*.

The temporal ruler, the *mangaia*, was responsible for keeping the peace: 'te 'au o te mangaia' ('the 'peace' of the peacemaker'). The phrase is an intentional play on words since *'au* and *mangaia* both meant, according to Gill, 'peace' and 'reign'.[2] The term *'au* was derived from the mythological texts where the *vaerua* of the *atua* Motoro was believed to have journeyed to Mangaia upon an *'au* (hibiscus) leaf.[3] The missionaries were quick to adapt the term, rendering 'te 'au o te Atua' as 'the peace of God'.[4] The term *mangaia*, if it were synonymous with *'au* in nineteenth century Mangaia, is no longer considered so today. However *manga-ia* is used to denote the 'prosperity of the land'.[5]

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[1] Cf. M&S, 293, where Gill argued that such a division was almost unique amongst Polynesian cultures. More recently Gunson has pointed out the similarities of Mangaia's pre-European government with parts of western Polynesia and other parts of the Austronesian speaking world and beyond. 'The *Hau* Concept of Leadership in Western Polynesia', *JPH* 14, 1 (1979), 30--34.

[2] M&S, 301--302; Gunson, '*Hau* Concept', 34 and fn. 27; Papa Aratangi, 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 16. Savage, 52--53, gives some examples of the use of *'au*: 'kua au te tamaki' ('peace has been made (after fighting)'); 'Te au o Kateni' ('the reign or period of Gudgeon [a colonial administrator]').

It should be remembered that the glottal stop in Cook Islands Maori is not consistently marked. Gill, in keeping with nineteenth century practice, sometimes indicated its presence by placing a macron over the following vowel. Savage only haphazardly used the stop in his dictionary.

[3] M&S, 27 and fn. 1. Gill described his authorities for this statement as 'the sacred men'. Perhaps he referred to former *ariki* or *pi'a atua*, or their descendants? The word *'au* may have had other connotations since *[']au* also meant the current of an ocean. Savage, 53.

[4] M&S, 301. This phrase may originally have been coined by a Mangaian pastor, presumably based on earlier usages, as it appears in Gill's notes of a sermon. See SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'. The sermon was on Kolosa III:18 (Colossians 3:18).

Other honorific titles were employed for the *'au* or *mangaia.* These included 'koina-rā' ('bright shining of the sun'), 'the man who holds the Rā', and 'the Sun (Rā)-eater'. Upon his death or the transfer of power Mangaians said 'the Rā has set'.[6] The *mangaia* or *koina-rā* awarded lands to his supporters, installing them as *pava* and *kairanga nuku.* He also selected and installed the *ariki.*

Nevertheless, whereas the *ariki* were always drawn from a pool of eligible candidates in the Ngāriki tribe the pursuit of temporal power was a much more fluid affair; a *toa* could attempt to seize the office at any time. Whether he was ultimately successful depended as much on his skills in harnessing military supporters as on his own martial prowess. Once in office he had also to reveal sufficient political expertise to maintain the support of his independently-minded *toko.*

The first example of the competition for and usurpation of power occurs in Mangaian structurings of the mythological past. The first parents Vātea and Papa bore several children. They were, in order of birth, Tangaroa, Rongo, Tongaiti, Tāne-papa-kai, Tangiia and a daughter Te Ra-kura-iti.[7] The first nexus of conflict involved the parents and their two elder children.

Gill described the two older siblings as 'twin children': 'They were the first beings of perfect human form, having no second shape'. He explained that Tangaroa was supposed to have been born first but gave precedence to Rongo. Tangaroa issued shortly thereafter from a boil on Papa's arm. He cited another version of the birth, 'equally veracious', which described Tangaroa as emerging from the crown of the head.[8] Gill appears to have based his recounting of the two variants upon a manuscript by Mamae.[9] Nevertheless, the missionary interpolated the passages referring to the twin brothers and to Rongo's precedence. Either he had access to other sources or was seeking to explain Rongo's future dominance amongst Mangaia's gods. All the other Mangaian texts emphasise Tangaroa's uncontested primacy of birth; in Aerepo's words, 'ko te kiko mua oki aia' ('he was the first born').[10]

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[5] Papa Aratangi, 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 2.

[6] M&S, 63.

[7] Sources for the mythological history of Mangaia are, ibid., chapter one; **MangS**, 15--18; **MK**, Iviiti Aerepo, 'Te Kapua anga Tangata o Auau Enua'; **M**; **Bmm**.

[8] M&S, 10.

The children of Vātea and Papa were each given portions of their parents' possessions. Tangaroa was given the red-coloured foods. Most texts list the varieties of these: coconuts, chestnuts, plantains, *taro*, birds and fishes.[11] Gill added that Tangaroa was also allocated upright fruits (*'ua tu*), namely, those foods such as plantain (*meika*) considered the head of their food family. This represented, according to Gill, Tangaroa's dignity as the eldest in the family of the gods.[12] The 'upright' foods may also have had a phallic connotation, perhaps emphasising the fertile role of the deities identified with the fruit of the earth.

The red colouring of Tangaroa's food symbolised his *tapu* nature: 'E tapu katoa oki aia e tuanga aia na Vatea' ('He was completely *tapu*, he shared this with Vātea').[13] One text stated that Tangaroa was *tapu* 'no te mea e taura a Tangaroa' ('because Tangaroa was a shamanic priest').[14] In Mangaia's view of its universe Vātea and Tangaroa were not only bound together by virtue of their shared *tapu* natures but by their twin identification with the sea and the *tuarangi*.[15]

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[9] Versions of this Mamae text in **MangS**, 17; **Bmm**; **M**.

[10] **MK**, Aerepo, 'Kapua anga Tangata o Auau Enua'; **M**; **Bmm**; **MangS**, 17.

[11] **M**, provided a more restricted list: 'E nukura, e au manu kura, e au manga eika kura' ('Red coconuts, red birds, and red fish'). In contrast Aerepo emphasised the all inclusive nature of the red foods: 'Ko te au kai kura anake to runga i te enua to raro i te moana na Tangaroa' ('Only the red foods upon the land and under the ocean belonged to Tangaroa'). **MK**, 'Kapua anga Tangata o Auau Enua'.

[12] **M&S**, 12. Gill provides a detailed listing of the foods divided up between the two brothers.

[13] **MK**, Aerepo, 'Kapua anga Tangata o Auau Enua'. Also **M**; **Bmm**; **MangS**, 17.

[14] **M**.

Despite Tangaroa's acknowledged pre-eminence in the Mangaian texts his brother Rongo received the greatest proportion of the food as well as the political power: 'Ta Rongo tu anga, e ua mangaia, e tikoru, e pākū, e pāpā, e ariki, e ta'uakai, e atua' (TeRH: 'Rongo's share was the *mangaia*, barkcloth, *pākū*, ornaments, distribution of food and supernatural power').[16] The barkcloth (*tikoru*, or more properly *te tikoru mataiapo*) was a thick, white, paper-mulberry cloth worn by the god-figures, priests and leading chiefs on the *marae*.[17] Like the ornaments this item represented the chiefly and priestly claims made for Rongo. In Gill's pointed rendering Rongo received 'Government, arrangement of feasts, the drum of peace, *i.e.* all the fountains of honour and power'.[18]

Rongo's dominance was secured through the efforts of his mother Papa. If Tangaroa had been given all the foods as Vātea intended she could not have eaten them owing to the *tapu* nature of her husband and eldest son. Accordingly she argued with Vātea that he should give Rongo more so she could eat at his feasts. The 'law of primogeniture', as Te Rangi Hiroa explained, did not prevent her from sharing the younger son's meals.[19] Papa was successful. 'The mother', as Gill put it, 'had her way'.[20]

The disparity between the brothers' shares became evident when their respective foods were divided out at a feast.[21] Tangaroa's food pile proved to be much smaller than his brother's. Either because of his shame ('akama') or jealousy ('vareae') Tangaroa gathered up his red foods and sailed away from the island, eventually settling in Rarotonga.[22] Gill added that Tangaroa's absence explained the seasonal appearance of his foods, such as breadfuit (*kuru*) and the chestnut (*i'i*), for he only permitted them to flourish on Mangaia while they were on the way to his own dominions.[23] The transience of Tangaroa's foods was expressed proverbially:

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[15] See Chapter 6.

[16] MangS, 16. Te Rangi Hiroa does not provide a translation of *pākū* in his text. Savage does not offer any relevant explanation.

[17] Ibid., 185; DL, 132.

[18] M&S, 11.

[19] MangS, 16.

[20] M&S, 11.

[21] According to the texts, this occasion was the origin of the customary calling out of the divisions of food followed in all subsequent island festivities.

> *Auraka ta ratou akonoanga kia riro ei uata (= pa) rakau na Tangaroa, ka [nunumi ?] ka aere*
>
> WWG: Let not our goodness be like the fruits of Tangaroa--mere visitors on their way to other lands.[24]

In contrast Rongo's food such as *taro* and banana--Mangaian staples--existed all year round.[25]

The rivalry of the elder and younger brothers was also mirrored in the power relationships amongst the younger siblings themselves. Tāne, the fourth child of Vātea and Papa, was priest for the oven and the gods.[26] He challenged his older brother Rongo to a kite flying competition. Unfortunately Rongo's string was longer and Tāne was defeated.[27]

Rongo's grandchildren by his daughter Tavake pulled up and occupied the future island of Mangaia. His eldest son, Rangi, was the first person to be described as the *mangaia* and *ariki pa uta*, an inheritance he derived from his father. The two other sons were apportioned some part of the father's power: Te 'Akatauira followed his eldest brother as the *ariki pa uta* while Mokoiro became the first *ariki no te tapora kai.*[28]

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[22] Aerepo in MK, 'Kapua anga Tangata o Auau Enua', put the departure down to shame; the other texts accepted jealousy as the motivation.

[23] M&S, 14.

[24] 'Taoi's [poem ?] 28/2/72', SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'. The Mangaian in ( ) is an addition by Gill.

[25] M&S, 14.

[26] 'Tei a ia te pi'a i te umu e te atua'. Another variant exists in M: 'I te umu a te Atua' ('For the oven of the gods').

[27] M&S, 123; G 45, note overleaf to 'Pee no nunga i te Kapa a Akatonu'.

The first conflict fought in Mangaia was retold by both Gill and Mamae, though with significant differences between their recountings.[29] Gill textually positioned his story in a time prior to the first challenge for the *mangaia*, calling it a 'golden age' before war and death had appeared. Mamae considered the conflict to be the first occasion upon which the *'au* was achieved, opening his account: 'No Rangi te au mua, i puruki i Teruanoninga, no Tongaiti tetai vaka' ('Rangi had the first *'au* which was fought at Teruanoninga against Tonga'iti').[30] Because Gill situated the first conflict at a remove from the contest for the *mangaia* he depicted the first contestants, Tukaitaua and Tutavake, as both coming up from 'Avaiki. Neither was a member of a Mangaian tribe. Tukaitaua slew three men, one from each of the Ngāriki subtribes: Matoetoeā, Ngake and Akuru.

In contrast, Mamae explained that Tukaitaua was a warrior from the Tonga'iti tribe. His father Tavarenga was also a *toa.* The slain men came from the Vaeruarangi, Te 'Akatauira and Pāpārangi families ('kopu') respectively. Tukaitaua's killing of the three Ngāriki was described as the fault ('ara') that brought about the fight at Teruanoninga. According to Gill the death of Matoetoeā was remembered as the first violent death on the island as opposed to the first peaceful death of Veetini.

In both accounts Rangi went down to see Rongo. Mamae depicts Rangi as searching for Matoetoeā, finding him standing before Rongo covered with blood. Gill has Rangi searching everywhere for the murderer till he finally sought the advice of Rongo and discovered Matoetoeā there, his head and face covered with blood. Gill represents this part

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[28] **DL**, 314--15; **M&S**, 18--19; **MangS**, 19. The sources conflict regarding the proper birth order of the two younger sons. Gill ranked Mokoiro before 'Akatauira, whom he considered the youngest, whereas Mamae placed 'Akatauira before Moko(iro). **M**, **Bmm**, **MangS**, 17--18. Considering the relative positions of the *ariki* titles I have followed Mamae's ranking of the three sons.

[29] The Gill text is from **M&S**, 282--88; Mamae's account is in SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[30] Cf. Mamae's account in **Mi 131, 132**, List of Battles by Mamae; **M.**

of his narration as a dialogue between Rangi and his grandfather. The grandson wished to slay the murderer. Rongo despatched a junior cousin ('teina') of Tukaitaua, Tutavake. Gill inserted some genealogical detail, identifying Tukaitaua as a descendant from the elder branch of the family through Tavarenga, while his *teina* was descended from Tuatakiri. Mamae was more direct in retelling this segment: Rangi asked Rongo to slay Tukaitaua. Rongo sent Tutavake, a warrior and child of Tauatakiri.

The Gill text interposed a sequence of parting instructions given by Rongo to Tutavake explaining how to slay Tukaitaua. He was to search throughout the island's six districts. If he could not locate Tukaitaua he was to climb the hills and look for him. He was to attack him at midday when Tukaitaua's strength was at its lowest ebb. Tutavake then came up to Mangaia. He found its occupants clustered together in the island's interior, in a state of terror. He travelled about searching for Tukaitaua. Looking down from Mangaia's central hill he discovered Tukaitaua practising near the entry to the spirit world. He approached him and slew him at midday. This killing ushered in, according to Gill and his informants, aggressive and defensive warfare, disease and natural disasters. Mamae again reduced the segment to its barest essentials: Tutavake slew Tukaitaua.

According to Gill the fight had a number of other consequences. Tukaitaua while searching for his victim Matoetoeā had cleared a narrow road around the island in order to be able to practise his various weapons: the long spear, the double-edged wooden sword, the curved club and occasionally the sling. The inhabitants of the island observed his military exercises from safe vantage points and by this means learnt about weapons and their uses. None of this was mentioned by Mamae.

The most important difference between the two versions occurred at this point of the narration. Gill shifted the time of his narrative forward to the challenge mounted by the immigrant Tonga'iti against the Ngāriki at the battle of Teruanoninga. The knowledge acquired by the aboriginal tribe from watching the 'Avaiki *toa* proved most timely. At Teruanoninga the local army, or so it was 'expressly asserted', was reinforced from 'Avaiki. However 'sceptical moderns' thought the reinforcements came from a reserve force hidden in the rocks. The Tonga'iti, who had at first despised their numerically inferior opponents were forced to flee to the cave of Tautua. Three of Rangi's warriors fell in battle, one from each of the Ngāriki subtribes. In Gill's words:

> And thus was established the ancient doctrine (ara taonga), that victory and chieftainship of all degrees can only be secured by *first* shedding the blood of some of the *victorious* party, so as to secure the favour of Rongo, the arbiter of the destinies of war.

Peace was finally secured after the conflict by the first human sacrifice to Rongo. Vaioeve, a Tonga'iti, was killed. The defeated tribe however were allowed to settle in Tamarua, where they had landed.

Mamae, who had already represented the conflict between Tukaitaua and Tutavake as a conflict between a Tonga'iti and a *toa* from 'Avaiki sent at the request of Rangi, does not make such a major transition in his narration as Gill. After Tukaitaua was slain, the tribe of Tonga'iti remained at Ararua where they mourned his death. Rangi's tribe mourned the death of the three slain Ngāriki at Teruanoninga in Pakoe. Rangi laid a rat upon the sacrificial altar at Auraka. The two tribes then fought each other. Mamae emphasised the defeat of Tonga'iti who were expelled by the tribe of Rangi. Rangi's own prowess dominated the description of battle; he fought a sequence of Tonga'iti warriors whom he defeated. Mamae lists the warriors in formulaic prose: 'Ua tu mai X ua mate, ua ati' ('X stood forth, was defeated, broken up').

The Tonga'iti survivors fled to the *raei*, the refuge of the defeated, at Tamarua. Rangi's tribe returned. Only after this successful contest does it appear that Rangi achieved the *'au*: 'Ua tu te au iaia, ia Teakatauira te kai i tona mangaia' ('The *'au* was established for him [Rangi], the *kai* from his *mangaia* went to Te 'Akatauira).[31] Mamae ended his account by listing the contemporary *pi'a atua* of Motoro.[32] The role of the religious expert is implicitly linked to the success of the temporal ruler though his exact contribution to this victory is not made explicit.[33]

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[31] See Chapter 9 for a fuller discussion of the significance of the *kai* title.

[32] 'Papaaunuku te pia atua' ('Papaaunuku was the *pi'a atua*').

The deeds of Tutavake, his close association with Rongo and the Mangaian relish for war were memorialised in proverbs and songs. Amongst the proverbs which Gill recorded were 'te kiri o Matoetoeā' ('the skin of Matoetoeā') referring to a person who shivered. This alluded to Matoetoeā's ability to cause an opponent to shake and tremble and to be unable to wield a weapon.[34] When a warrior was dealing the death-blow he sometimes said 'Go, eat the stale food of Tukaitaua'. According to Gill's information the food meant Tukaitaua's club and spear.[35] Several songs also exist:

I turua nuku koē Tutavake	You were supported by Tutavake
I turua mataotaoā te apai o te rangi	Supported the darkening sky
E ïa e manu e pungāverevere	There were creatures in the fine net
Eiei nuku na manu o te rangi	Caught by the creatures of heaven
Pirake e piri te pāpāō!	The *pirake* caught in the *pāpāō* net!
Na tamaroa e tu i te taua,	The sons stood upon the battlefield
Anaua te tama roa e Tutavake ō,	Sons born by Tutavake
O miru te metua!	Miru was the parent![36]

Te ui mai na Rongo e	Rongo asks for
Tai okiri, tai korare	One spear, one club
...	
Tai naau peiaa e	An army longing to fight
...	
Tai okiri oki e	One spear also
Ka tu ē	Stand up
Ka puruki	Fight
E tu e Rongo, e tukatakata	Stand up O Rongo, laugh
...	

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[33] See Chapter 9 for a more detailed discussion of the priestly role in the contests for the *mangaia*.

[34] M&S, 283.

[35] Ibid., 288.

[36] G 45, 'E Eva no nunga ia Ruru, na Arokapiti'; M&S, 276--78. The first line reads in part in M&S, 'koe e Tutavake'. The Mangaian text follows the MS where the 'e' have been elided together. l. 3 reads in MS 'Eia e manu e pungaverevere'. I have adopted Gill's rendering in M&S.

The translation departs from Gill's interpretation. His rendering is 'Oh that war-loving Tutavake would pity thee!/ Oh, that the fierce demon of the sky would save thee!/ Thou art doomed like a fly in a spider's web;/ Snared by the relentless fairies of the air;/ Helpless as a fish in the meshes of a net./ Alas! brave sons destined for fight,/ Begotten of war-loving Tutavake,/ Dread Miru awaits you.' Ibid., 277.

In at least one case, l. 3, Gill departs from his own MS annotation. He noted 'pungaverevere' to mean 'the gods in the fine net'. *Punga-verevere*, according to Savage, 280, may mean a spider's web, a cobweb or a name of a fishing net that has fine mesh. I have adopted the last meaning, in accordance with the MS, in my translation.

Tauna ea tai o tukatakata na.	The cooked (men) are your delight
...	
E pōpō tā i miri	A wooden sword to slay behind
E pōpō tā i tangata	A wooden sword to slay men
Pōpō tāia atu ana	A wooden sword which has slain
Kauariki i te toē	That transfixes the enemy
...	
Kutu mai te tā i miri e	The weapons clash
...	
Kutu mai te tā	The weapons clash
I karuru te ruru	Bind the bundle
I tiria paruru atu na i raro e,	Hurl the bundle down below
Ei papa one i au	To become the earth
Tukua ra [?a] [?pe]	Allow (it) to decay.[37]

Era ei a Rongo mangaia	The day of Rongo (the) *mangaia*
...	
A kai Tutavake i te aunga toto	Tutavake eats the smell of blood
...	
Ei kapa rakau to Rongo	As a spear dance of Rongo
Ei Aungangare	As a transient peace.[38]

The contest for power evident in the mythological texts is a charter for aspects of Mangaian life. The pre-eminence of Rongo, a younger brother, amongst the island's gods is explained by his early dominance over Tangaroa and his younger brother-*atua*. Conversely, the insignificant role of the first-born Tangaroa, who appears in Mangaia as an absent deity pre-eminently associated with the realm of *tuarangi*, is highlighted by his diminished share of non-staple foods.

The story also yields important insights into the structure and dynamics of family life. The mother is able to assert her position against the more sacred husband and elder son in favour of a younger child. She was also, in the conflict with Tumuteanaoa, a woman of the land, as opposed to her husband who originated elsewhere. This interpersonal opposition further emphasises the land/not land (or *tuarangi*) dichotomy in the island's texts.[39]

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[37] **G 45**, 'E Eke, no Ata raua o Tukua'; **DL**, 305--307. The text follows the MS, though I have divided the lines. The last line is not found in **DL**. It is partially illegible. The sign ? stands for undeciphered letters. The last line though not included in Gill's version was apparently incorporated into his translation of the previous line: 'To rot and mingle with the soil'.

The translation follows Gill's own rendering, with certain adaptions to create a more literal text. The bundle being hurled down refers to the dead being cast into a burial cave.

[38] SSSP Newell 9, 'Eva na Teinaakia no te Mate ia Tuaopapa'; **G 45**, no title, first line: 'Ka ano au a motu ...'; **DL**, 87. The translation is adapted from Gill though he translated the first line in **DL**: 'Ah! Rongo, thou art sovereign of Mangaia'; and in MS: 'Truly Rongo is the supreme god of Mangaia'. There are a number of versions of this text. See Appendix D for a discussion of the variants.

The conflict between Tutavake and Tukaitaua established many of the motifs in Mangaian history. The more elaborate version by Gill established the form of challenge for and contest of the *mangaia.* The battle was fought between a *tuakana* and *teina.* The contest was preceded by a killing which broke the reigning peace. The defeated or neutral parties sought refuge in caves and other parts of the *makatea* and mountainous regions. The victor dominated the land and asserted his right to grant property. The conflict was only terminated by offering one of the conquered as a human sacrifice to Rongo as the pre-eminent deity of the island and of warfare. If anything Mamae strengthened and made plain the linkage between the first conflict and the winning of the *'au.*

The different narrations show up a variety of interpretations. Gill seems to have altered the birth order of Tangaroa and Rongo to explain the later domination by the *teina.* He also accepted a different birth order from Mamae's for the offspring of Rongo. Gill elaborated on the conflict between Tukaitaua and Tutavake adding much detail not recorded by Mamae. More importantly Gill positioned the story in a different time and emphasised the warriors' links to 'Avaiki--a far cry from Mamae's emphasis on Tukaitaua's membership of Tonga'iti and the integration of the fight with the battle to win the first *mangaia.* Gill's differences may have resulted from his having access to additional sources of information, as well as from an attempt to fit the texts of the Tangaroa and Rongo conflict into a general historical framework for Mangaia.

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[39] For further discussion of the Papa and Vātea connections see Chapter 4.

NINE

THE SUCCESSION OF THE PEACEMAKER

The succession of the *mangaia* reflects the patterning of contests in the mythological texts. However not all the temporal rulers succeeded to that exalted office through battle. Peaceful deposition was one alternative. Military stalemates or uneasy truces between opposing forces provoked their own solutions. Nonetheless, whether a contest of arms was required or not, the losers in all cases were deprived of the staff of life. Their worldly poverty was, however, ameliorated by victorious connections who provided them with shelter under the new regime.

A series of texts tabulates the succession of *mangaia.* Gill and Te Rangi Hiroa both published succession lists.[1] However another list was prepared by Mamae.[2] He also wrote two prose accounts; one, representing a concise history of the different contests and temporal rulers, and, as part of the Mormon manuscript, a text entitled: 'Akapapaanga teia no te au Va'i Tamaki i Tupu ana i Mangaia' ('This is the Sequence of Battles which took place on Mangaia').[3] The first two Mamae texts list the temporal rulers; the last work only identifies the victors and losers of each contest. Not all victors became the *mangaia.*

The two prose texts are presented in highly structured prose. Each succession is depicted as a contest between an incumbent and a challenger, even where there is no battle. In the Mormon manuscript Mamae first identified the presiding priest of Motoro and what seem to have been his titles: 'Arapi'a, arutoa, akaue' ('The succession of priests, warrior, command(er)'). This juxtaposition of the contest for the *'au* and the role of the priest emphasises the intimate relationship which prevailed between the sacred and the profane on Mangaia.

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[1] **DL**, [308]--[311]; **MangS**, 35.

[2] **Mi 131, 132**, List of Battles by Mamae. It seems plausible to assume that this list was the authority for Gill's own succession list.

[3] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia' ('The *Mangaia* Succession'); **M.**

The appearance of the *pi'a atua* of Motoro reflects the leading position this cleric had in the island's religious structure as the *pi'a* of the second most important *atua* and the tribal deity of the Ngāriki. His titles emphasise this. The first, *arapi'a*, referred to the priestly succession of which he was a part; the second, *arutoa*, to the priest's role as a medium for the warriors; the third, *akaue*, emphasised the priest's right to direct where a battle might be fought.[4]

The prose of the Mormon manuscript described the contests in formulae. The incumbent was described as 'na X i tamaki' ('X fought'). The challenger was introduced as 'ko Y tei apai tamaki mai' ('it was Y who brought the fight'). The priest's instructions regarding the choice of battle field began 'kua akaue te Arutoa ei Z tamaki ei' ('the *Arutoa* commanded that (they) fight at Z'). The incumbent thereupon always carried out the instructions: 'Kua rave rai a X i tei akaueia mai' ('X did as he had been commanded'); he was often assisted by his *pu*, most likely his *toko*.[5] The actions alluded to by 'rave' (to do or perform an action) probably included weeding and clearing the designated battlefield.[6] Needless to say the incumbent was victorious, 'kua re a X e tona nuku'. The repetitive text emphasises just how planned and ordered these formal contests for leadership could become.

The 'ara mangaia' text though it provides much more detail and is therefore not so formulaic as the Mormon manuscript, nonetheless, has certain recurrent phrases. Every reign is severed ('motu') by a challenger; most contests result from some fault or violation

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[4] There seems to be some differences of opinion regarding the meaning of *arapi'a*. Te Rangi Hiroa rendered it 'the succession of priests' while Papa Aratangi followed Gill and preferred 'the mouth pieces'. MangS, 121; Papa Aratangi, 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 19. Te Rangi Hiroa's interpretation is a more literal reading, while Gill and Aratangi have opted for one which more clearly describes the priestly role as inspired medium.

[5] *Pu* can mean a chief, ruler, or the main part of anything. Savage, 268.

[6] MangS, 159.

('ara'), perhaps on the part of the *mangaia*; battles are always fought between two tribal groups--even the last contest between Christians and *etene* (heathens); someone always holds the *'au* or *kai*; a drum is frequently sounded, meaning peace is proclaimed. As in his list and in the Mormon manuscript Mamae also identifies the names of the presiding *pi'a* of Motoro and sometimes that of the *ariki pa uta*--the senior spiritual ruler of Mangaia. The contest for political power was ever governed and presided over by the highest spiritual officers, as Rongo, the supreme deity, was linked with the first mythological contest and the sacrifice of the victim to reestablish peace.

The connection between the temporal rulers of Mangaia and the patterning of rulership established in mythology was emphasised not only in the form of contest for the office but in the titles used to designate the position. Mamae entitled the ruler 'te ua mangaia' ('the product of power')--the same title ascribed to Rongo. The role of food in Rongo's original portion of his parents' possessions was also continued. Mamae distinguished two forms of temporal rulership: the *'au* (peace) and the *kai* (food). Ordinarily the *kai* titles resided with the *'au*. A song about the various Ngāti Vara *mangaia* confirms this:

Kai mangaia no Teaio	The *kai mangaia* of Teaio
...	
Kai mangaia no ngārā	The *kai mangaia* of Ngarā
...	
Kai mangaia no marokore	The *kai mangaia* of Marokore[7]

On occasion the *kai* title was held by a second ruler. These separate *kai* titleholders seem to have been chiefs whose tribes or subtribes were important to maintaining the *'au*'s grip on power. Hence the *kai* appeared only at times of unusual threats to or changes in the patterns of tribal dominance. At other times the *mangaia* was content to retain the *kai* for himself.

Unfortunately past scholars have ignored the distinctive *kai* title or subsumed it under others. Both Gill and Te Rangi Hiroa explained the *kai* holders as either a titular *mangaia* installed by the victor of the contest for the rulership, or as a title held 'by [the] consent' of the victor. This last description points to the subsidiary nature of the *kai*. Te Rangi Hiroa even described the actual victor as a *toko*; an inappropriate use of the Mangaian term which was applied to those chiefs who militarily supported the *mangaia.*[8]

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[7] **G 45**, 'Mata Mori'; **Mi 131, 132**, 'Pee Ke teia, no te Kapa a Vaarua, na Koroa rai i Atu'. The song also preserves an apparent play on these words: 'A kai ra/ Mangaia au o Vara e' ('Eat/ The peace of Vara').

Given the ethnographic silence regarding the *kai*, an examination of its usage is warranted. The separate *kai* title occurred seven times in the succession of *mangaia*. Mamae recounts them:[9]

> [1] Rangi had the *'au* ('Ia Rangi te au'); Te 'Akatauira had the *kai* ('Ia Teakatauira te kai').
>
> [2] Tamatapu had the *'au*; Te 'Akatauira had the *kai.*
>
> [3] Mōkē had the *'au*; Vaeruarangi had the *kai.*
>
> [4] Amū had the *'au*; Teinaovatea had the *kai*, a son of Pāpārangi.
>
> [6] Tirango had the *'au*; Ngāriki had the *kai.*
>
> [22] Ngauta had the seventh *'au*; Tereā had the *kai*, a person from the Te A'aki tribe ('e tangata no te kopu o Teaāki').
>
> [23] Ngangati had the *'au*, returned to Ngāriki ('ua oki i ngariki'); Tuanui had the *'au*, his was the *kai* ('nana i kai').

The 'ara mangaia' text amplifies this list though with some variations. In this manuscript Mamae did not specify Tirango as holding the *'au* after the sixth battle at Parainui. Instead he wrote:

> *E tae akera i tetai tuatau, ua motu to Teāio, ia Tirango, e Tongaiti aia, no te kopu o Tekama tetai vaka, tera te ara, e tutai na te kopu o te Kama, [no ?] roto t[e ?] tangata i tāia i nga puna e ono ia mangaia, i tāia i Puamātā, ua puruki i Parainui, o Tirango tei autu, ua puruki i Rangiue, o Tirango tei autu, ua puruki i Areūtū, o Tirango tei autu, ia ngariki te kai ia mangaia.*
>
> The time came when Te Aio's reign was severed by Tirango of Tonga'iti. The Te Kama tribe were the violators, killing people in the six districts of Mangaia. (Te Kama were) killed at Puamata. (The two sides) fought at Parainui. Tirango was

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[8] **DL**, [308]--[10]; **MangS**, 34--36.

[9] **Mi 131, 132**, List of Battles by Mamae. My translation. The numbers indicate the order of battles. This numbering sequence includes the destruction of Ngāti Tāne in the two *umu ti* (or ovens of *ti* (plant, *cordyline terminalis*)). See also **M, DL**, [310]; **MangS**, 35.

victorious. (They) fought at Rangiue. Tirango was victorious. (They) fought at Areutu. Tirango was victorious. Ngāriki had the *kai* for Mangaia.[10]

Tirango was the dominant war leader--a fact recognised in both texts. Whether or not he held *de jure* the *'au* he was *de facto* the most influential island leader of the time.[11]

The last phrase in the above quotation recurs to describe other separate *kai* titles:

No Āmū te au, ia Teinaovatea te kai ia mangaia

Amu had the *'au*, Teinaovatea had the *kai* for Mangaia.

Ka 7 Rā o ngauta, o te au ïa i tangi te paū, ia Tereā te kai ia mangaia

Ngauta held his seventh sun-ship, he sounded the drum in this reign, Terea had the *kai* for Mangaia.

Ia Tuanui te kai ia mangaia, ka 1 mangaia o ngangati

Tuanui had the *kai* for Mangaia, Ngangati held his first *mangaia.*

Both Mamae's list and the 'ara mangaia' text suggest that the last separate *kai*, held by Tuanui, differed from earlier *kai* in being more equal in standing to the *mangaia*, even though Ngangati, in both accounts, led the Ngāriki forces against the previous *mangaia* Ngauta.

Five of the seven recorded *kai* occurred in the earliest part of Mangaia's recorded history when migrant groups fought for the possession of land or for control of the island. Nearly all these holders of the *'au* and *kai* titles were indigenes, mostly from Ngāriki, though often from different subtribes. One of the titleholders had a different origin. The *'au*, Mokē (or Mōkē) had divine assistance at his birth, being nurtured by Tumuteanaoa, the aboriginal genitrix.[12] This suggests that Mokē had a foreign origin.

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[10] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'. See **DL**, 45--48, for a more detailed version of these events.

[11] In a footnote in **DL**, 48, Gill recorded that Tirango (spelt Tiranga) was 'declared temporal 'Lord of Mangaia'' for his bravery at Parainui, though in his list of battles, Gill does not list Tirango as the *mangaia.* **DL**, [308]. Te Rangi Hiroa follows Gill's list. **MangS**, 35, 44.

[12] **DL**, 18, 32--33; **MangS**, 38--40.

The second *mangaia* Tamatapu was the most interesting exception. He was the son of a Rarotongan, Tui, who had been the first *ariki pa tai.* Tamatapu's mother was a Mangaian. Gill records that Tui was a son of Tangaroa by his wife Pooatarau. Tui came to live with his 'taeake' ('relative') Rangi.[13] This explains his assumption of an *ariki* status associated with the sea. Despite Tamatapu's maternal link and the relationship to Rangi he was not considered to be a Ngāriki and may have been a rival for the rulership. According to Mamae Tamatapu severed Rangi's reign as *mangaia* when he slew the Teaitu tribe. He himself was from the family ('kopu') of Tetuikura. He attacked the Aitu because, in Mamae's words,

> *ua akarongo aia i te tara koumu iaia, no te mea e Ariki aia*
>
> he heard them plotting secretly against him because he was an *ariki.*[14]

He then proceeded to defeat the priestly Te 'Āmama, and obtain the *'au*, presumably from Rangi.[15] The *kai* was probably given to Te 'Akatauira, a younger brother of Rangi, to shore up the Tetuikura hold on power. This suggests that the three Ngāriki subtribes already operated as distinct entities by this early date. When Mokē took the *'au* from Tamatapu, the title was, according to Mamae, restored to the Ngāriki ('i taokiia i ngariki'), confirming Tamatapu's status as rival to the aboriginal tribe of Rangi.[16]

This version differs from the other narrations of these events. Gill believed that the Aitu tribesmen spoke disparagingly of Tamatapu's chiefly scent while bringing him the customary turtle offering.[17] The *kōrero* Tereevangeria Aratangi thought that they were Ngāriki fishermen.[18] More significantly, most sources, including Mamae's Mormon manuscript, suggest that Rangi and Tamatapu together defeated the Ngāti Tāne, an alternative name for the Teaitu.[19] Whether the men were allies or not, the shedding of blood would have severed the existing reign. Based upon this alliance the published lists by Gill and Te Rangi Hiroa have assumed that both men were the 'real' Lords of Mangaia, i.e. the *'au*. This is not in accord with Mamae's own listing. Only Tamatapu held the *'au*. Rangi dropped out of the succession, perhaps killed in the battle. Such transfers of power occurred in later periods of Mangaian history.

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[13] SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'.

[14] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] **DL**, 18, 22; **G 45**, 'E tangi, no te Kakai a Arokapiti, no te Tauna, i Ananui. Na Koroa i Atu'; **G 44**.

[18] **MK**, Tereevangeria Aratangi, 'Te Onu tei Apai ia na te Ariki'.

The association of the *kai* with crisis periods in the succession explains the title's later appearance. Tirango, who in Mamae's list held the sixth *mangaia*, was a Tonga'iti. Previously Ngāriki had possessed the title. By naming an unidentified Ngāriki person as *kai* Tirango may have sought to keep this important tribe allied to his cause. Similarly, the Tonga'iti Ngauta's choice of Tereā after the twenty-second battle appears to have been motivated by a need to reinforce the *'au*'s grip on power.[20] The final appearance of the *kai* occurred at the moment when Ngāriki seized the *mangaia* back from the dominant Tonga'iti following the twenty-third contest. Both holders came from Ngāriki.

Most temporal rulers acquired their titles after leading their tribal forces to victory in battle against the incumbent and his tribe. Once in office the *'au* might be called upon to defend his position against new migrants, former holders of the title or new aspirants. There were however certain variations upon the form of acquiring the title. The most unusual occurred after the thirty-first battle at Tapatiu between Te Uanuku and Raumea of Ngāti Vara and Akatara, the *mangaia*. No temporal ruler was declared, despite Akatara's death, probably due to the continuing existence of a substantial opposing force.[21]

Even when a temporal ruler was declared he may not have been the leader of the victorious tribe. In two cases the *'au* remained a Ngāriki, even though the chief who led the victorious forces was Tirango, a Tonga'iti. This cession, which occurred after the eighth and ninth battles at Rangiue and Areutu respectively, may have resulted out of deference to Ngāriki's status as the founding tribe.[22] When Ruaika finally led the Ngāriki to victory against Tirango and the Tonga'iti at the eleventh battle at Vaikakau, Tenau of Te 'Akatauira became the *'au.* Tirango's defeat and death was remembered in the song lines:

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[19] **M**; **DL**, [308]; **MangS**, 35. Details of the actual engagement in **DL**, chapter i; **MangS**, 38--39.

[20] See Chapter 11 for a more detailed discussion of this example.

[21] **Mi 131, 132**, List of Battles by Mamae; **DL**, 167; **MangS**, 60. This incident is described in more detail in Chapter 12.

Puputa motu no Tirango	Tirango was rent apart
E pa te rongo i Avarua.	The news affected Avarua.[23]

The most likely explanation for Ruaika handing the *'au* to Tenau is that he did not want to retain the *mangaia* as well as his priestly position as the *ariki pa uta*;[24] a decision which emphasises the distinction Mangaians made between the two sorts of rulership. Nevertheless, this did not stop Ruaika on two later occasions from leading his tribe into battle--unsuccessfully as it transpired.[25] Ruaika's fighting role was memoralised in song:

Te tu ra oa Ruaika i Tikura	Ruaika stood at Tikura
Ua mau te rakei	Holding his weapon.[26]

Oai te ume i te maro	Who puts on the *maro*?
O Ruaika oa o manini i Te ruakeretonga	Ruaika and Manini at Te Ruakeretonga
Ae ka aere ai au ki te mate	Yes I go to die[27]

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[22] **Mi 131, 132,** List of Battles by Mamae.

[23] **G 45,** 'E Eva no nunga ia Ruru, na Arokapiti'; **M&S,** 277. Songs referring to Tirango in e.g. **DL,** 23, 48, 98.

[24] **MangS,** 48.

[25] **Mi 131, 132,** List of Battles by Mamae; SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'. The other battles were at Taainga (or Taaonga) against One of Tonga'iti and Teruakeretonga against Ngauta, also of Tonga'iti.

[26] **G 45,** 'E Eva no nunga ia Ruru, na Arokapiti'; **M&S,** 278.

[27] **G 45,** no title, first line: 'Ka ano au a motu i tau ivi ...'. This excerpt is not found in other versions of this song. See SSSP Newell 9, 'Eva na Teinaakia no te Mate ia Tuopapa' and Appendix D for a detailed listing of the variants. Another reference may have been made to Ruaika in the other MS versions of the song: 'E Tengaungau oi e tu ra i vao umea to maro inapo nei uā koe!'; or, 'E Tenga[u]ngau oi e tu ra umea to maro [etc.]'. WWG MS translation: 'Fearless chieftain, rise up at once,/ adjust the war-girdle this very night'. This rendering differs slightly from that at **DL,** 81 ll. 15--16. According to WWG's MS annotation, Tengaungau was either Panako of Te 'Akatauira, or Ruaika. Another annotation by WWG notes '= Ruaika', but an annotation to a Mangaian version simply states 'man Ruaika paa [perhaps Ruaika]'. Since WWG did not explain the reference in **DL** it suggests he felt the identity was doubtful.

A second temporal ruler, One, who succeeded Tirango as leader of the Tonga'iti, is often treated similarly to his Tonga'iti predecessor. Both Gill and following him Te Rangi Hiroa believed that One was a victorious war leader who, after holding the *'au* once, ceded it thereafter to Panako of Te 'Akatauira. Panako had fought alongside One against another Ngāriki subtribe, the Vaeruarangi at the thirteenth battle at Kumekume.[28] In his Mormon manuscript Mamae noted that the two men were allied to one another but in his list of battles Mamae gave the *'au* to One after each affray. The 'ara mangaia' manuscript elaborated upon the alliance between the men but confirmed One's retention of the *'au.*[29] Mamae emphasised their alliance and One's pre-eminence in a passage describing the battle against Kotaa and the Ngati Kama:

> *Ua puruki akaou, na one rai, no Tekama rai tetai vaka, no Kotaa, i puruki i Tepapa, ia one te au, ua akaui te ngati Kama, i taokiia rai te au i ngariki.*
>
> One again fought the Te Kama and Kotaa at Te Papa. One had the *'au.* Ngati Kama were gathered together. The *'au* was restored to Ngāriki.[30]

This fight was the fifteenth contest for the *mangaia.*

The long hegemony of the Ngāti Vara during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries of the European calendar provides the final examples of an *'au* being held by someone other than the victors. The reign of Mautara was severed when Takurua and Ka'ukare were slain by the Ngāti Amai. Ikoke led the forces against this tribe at the thirty-fifth battle of Tuaopapa but the *'au* was actually held by Uarau.[31] In the Mormon manuscript Mamae noted: 'Kua rave rai a Uarau e Ikoke' ('Uarau and Ikoke fought'), suggesting a form of joint leadership.[32] Uarau was a member of the Ngāriki not, as Te Rangi Hiroa suggested, a member of the defeated Ngāti Amai:[33]

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[28] **DL**, 79, [309]; **MangS**, 35--36.

[29] See **DL**, 75--80, for a longer version of the 'ara mangaia' account.

[30] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[31] Ibid.

[32] **M.**

[33] See **MangS**, 66.

> *Ua puruki i Tuaōpapa, no Ikoke tai vaka, no Amai tai vaka, o Ikoke tei autu, ua kavea te au i ngariki, ia Uarau.*
>
> Ikoke fought Amai at Tuaopapa. Ikoke won. The *'au* was carried to Ngāriki, to Uarau.[34]

The transfer of power may have resulted from Ikoke's likely death in battle. According to Te Rangi Hiroa his son Potiki and grandson Koroa took over the leadership and decided upon Uarau as the *'au.*[35] Such a concession may have been prompted by a desire to strengthen Ngāti Vara through additional tribal alliances. A similar motivation appears to have been behind the later accessions of Kirikovi and Pa'i who were Ngāriki on their father's side but Ngāti Vara on their mother's.[36]

The most radical departure from the normal accession arrangements was the three peaceful transitions of temporal ruler. Twice the incumbent lost the *'au* at the behest of one of the island's priests. In the first of these priestly depositions Ngarā (or Ngārā), the *pi'a atua* of Motoro, considered certain actions of the *mangaia* Uarau to be *akateitei* (showing excessive pride) and had him peacefully deposed.[37] The particular act which so offended the *pi'a*, as well as the other leading chiefs, was Uarau's decision to celebrate his accession upon the very *tapu* central mountain of the island, Rangimoti'a.[38] Ngarā himself succeeded to the *mangaia*:

> *Ia Uarau te au, i tetai tuatau, ua rave ia e Ngārā*

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[34] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[35] MangS, 66. However in **Mi 131, 132**, List of Battles by Mamae, Ikoke leads the victorious tribe at this battle. In this case Mamae was probably using 'Ikoke' as a form of tribal designation. A similar usage can be observed for the later battle of Rangiura. In that case Mamae wrote that Makitaka had the *'au* while Ikoke led the victorious tribe. However Makitaka, a descendant of Ikoke by his second wife, Mika, actually fought and won against Koroa, descended from Ikoke's first wife. See **MangS**, 72.

[36] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'. See Chapter 6 for information on their reigns and their genealogies.

[37] **MangS**, 66--67; **DL**, 213; **MP**, 'Tuopapa Battle'. Papa Aratangi points out that Te Rangi Hiroa uses *akangateitei* (to pay respect to a person), instead of *akateitei.* 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 13 fn. 27.

[38] M&S, 128.

Uarau had the *'au.* On one occasion, Ngārā took it.[39]

Ngarā may also have been jealous of Uarau's achievements. His reign was described as a time when the chestnuts grew upon the stems of the trees ('Ua 'ua te i'i i runga i te tumu o te rakau i te 'au o Uarau'), a proverbial expression for prosperous government.[40] Tribal rivalry may also have been a factor. Mamae wrote that Ngarā's actions returned the *'au* to Te 'Āmama.[41]

The second peaceful change occurred when Makitaka, the *pi'a atua* of Motoro, lost the *'au* as a result of a lengthy famine.[42]

Te au o makitaka	The reign of Makitaka
Te kai tuitui te poke kope	Candlenut was the pudding of the listless.[43]

According to Gill 'the priests [declared] that the gods willed the chieftainship to be devolved upon Pangemiro'.[44] The priest(s) were not specified. However a song composed about the event identified the priestly figure as Vaekura, the *pi'a atua* of Tāne-ngaki-au.

Vaekura te pia i tara ē	Vaekura was the priest who spoke
Vāia te Amama	Split up Te 'Āmama
Āmama o Makitaka	Makitaka's (tribe) Amama
Vaekura te arataki	Vaekura (was) the leader.[45]

Vaekura was probably not just concerned about the fertility of the land but in promoting his own tribe, the Ngāti Tāne who, along with Ngāti Mana'une under Pangemiro, took the

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[39] **Mi 131, 132**, List of Battles by Mamae.

[40] **MP**, '8. Lord of Mangaia. Significance of Cutting Up the Offering'.

[41] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[42] **Mi 131, 132**, List of Battles by Mamae.

[43] Te Rangi Hiroa, MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 3.4, Cook Island Field Notes, iv, p. 13, BPBML. A slightly different version of this quotation in **MangS**, 73.

[44] **Life**, 326; **MP**, '8. The Lord of Mangaia. Significance of the Drum'. Gill's description of Makitaka's deposition was a quotation from a speech made by his chapel-keeper in 1868. Makimou, the only landless Mangaian, had been dedicated to the gods Tangiia and Utakea. He recounted his escapes from becoming the inaugural sacrifice to the reigns of Marokore, Koroa, Makitaka and Pangemiro. He had been protected by his sister Tanga who prevailed upon her successive husbands to protect him. **Life**, 323--28.

[45] **G 45**, 'E Pee no Makitaka, e Mangaia nona ua Riro ia Pangemiro, Na Tukā i Atu, no nunga i te Tekanga a Maurua'; **M&S**, 312--15.

mangaia. The combination was too strong and Makitaka, abandoned by most of his supporting chiefs, was not able to contest the issue.[46]

Teipoi ārire riro akera	Alas that (the) *mangaia*
Mangaia ē i te rave!	Should be snatched from my grasp
Ia Makitaka te ua	The product (of power) from Makitaka
A motu te toa ia ngaki te miro	(The reign) severed by the command of (Tāne)Ngaki(au)
...	
Ē tini na Tane i ka riro mangaiā	The many of Tāne took away (the) *mangaia*
...	
Ua ē ïa maki o te ivi	The tribe failed Maki(taka)
Koia i akamoe a'i ē	Those who had made promises.[47]

The emotions this engendered were expressed by Makitaka's sister:

Mangaia kiritia	Power thrown away
Mangaia revareva	Power being played with,
Raveravea 'ua 'ia e teia takinga tamariki.	Played with by a youthful generation
Takinga tangata e--	A generation of men is discarded
Takinga i te tamariki	A generation of children supplants them.[48]

The transfer of power to Pangemiro was not as radical as such emotionally charged songs suggested. Mamae makes it plain that Pangemiro had Ngāriki affiliations:

> *E roa akera, ua motu to makitaka ia Pangemiro, aore e puruki, e tangata ua tei tāia ei akatangi i te paū, o Teāta te ingoa, ia Pangemiro te mangaia, ua oki i ngariki, i te vairanga taito o te mangaia i nee, e 7 mataiti i tona au.*
>
> Some time later, Makitaka's (reign) was severed by Pangemiro, without a fight. Te Ata was the name of the person who was slain to sound the drum. Pangemiro had the *mangaia*, (which) returned to Ngāriki, the ancient holders of the *mangaia* a long time before. His reign lasted seven years.[49]

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[46] **MangS**, 80.

[47] **G 45**, 'E Pee no Makitaka'; **M&S**, 312--13. The translations are partly adapted from Gill's rendering. See **MangS**, 81, for a different version. The published text of this song is not complete. The last verse in the MS, *unuunu* 3, was not included. It reads:

> *E toru ereū e ia Makitāka aē!/ E toru ereū ia makitaka/ Ua nātia tei Areika/ E punua au o o te āmama/ a kavē i mua i Araāta/ Nai mua i Araāta ē!/ E taeā Aupi/ E taeā mangaiā!*
>
> Three (years ?) for Makitaka/ Three (years ?) for Makitaka/ Snared at Araka/ I am an offspring of Te Amama/ Taken before Araāta/ Before Araāta/ Reaching Aupi/ Reaching Mangaia!.

[48] **MP**, '8. The Lord of Mangaia. (2) Significance of the Drum'; **MangS**, 82. Translation by Te Rangi Hiroa.

[49] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'. WWG, in **DL**, 60 fn. 3, refers to Pangemiro as a member of the Ngāriki tribe.

The accession to political power was often the result of complex intertribal loyalties and connections.

The final transition, which occurred before the above transfer of power, highlights the factionalised nature of tribes whose members were often as not pitted against their kin; a typical situation in any society founded upon tribal groupings. The Ngāti Vara *mangaia* Potiki, after a long reign, was replaced by a new ruler, Marokore, without a fight. The change occurred in order to reestablish a peace which had been weakened by conflict with the Tonga'iti.[50] Despite the more 'peaceful' nature of these changes in the *'au,* their accessions retained the same form of inauguration ceremony, namely, the sacrifice of a human victim to Rongo.

THE TRANSFERS OF power and the sacrifices assumed the existence of a substantial body of war refugees. They were known by a variety of names: the *'aō* (conquered or vassal); the *ivi pa'anga* (fatherless tribe or 'the smitten ones'); the *taparere* ('upset', as of a thing sliding downhill); or more pejoratively, the *iro* ('worms'); or the *tikipa one* ('piece of dirt').[51] Virtually all Mangaians experienced this twilight life, dispossessed from the primary land-growing areas, eking out an existence on the *makatea.* The way of life they maintained and the hazards they encountered were captured in a number of songs.[52]

Pukiekie kore, e kore, tei Avaavatakina	Utterly friendless, at Avaavatakina
...	
Ko te ua marire e piri ai e oo te verevere	They subsisted on wild berries and fruits
E verevere aere i Tuanaki	Found in Tuanaki
Kua tika paa ia Rongo ia Tumakitea	Preferred by Rongo and Tumakatea
...	
Eketia i raro i te aumoko	Removed under Te Aumoko
...	
Tei Takimivera oki te punanga	Hiding at Takimivera
Punanga i te ao e!	Hiding place of the conquered

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[50] **Mi 131, 132**, List of Battles by Mamae; SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'; **MangS**, 71; **DL**, 267--71.

[51] **Life**, 34, 326; **MangS**, 129; Te Rangi Hiroa, MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 3.4, Cook Islands Field Notes, iv, pp. 28, 29, BPBML; SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'. In his MS Gill gave several other translations of *ao ['aō]*: encompassed; enclosed, i.e. by foes; caught.

[52] See Numangatini's own description of his time as a refugee in **DL**, 378--79.

E kai eki ua, te mikorau ra,	Eating seeds, and the drupe of the pandanus
Kua pipi vaitorea, e ta te ao manga ïa	A drink at the stream, these were the food of the conquered.[53]

E aere ai	Away
Tei arakino Ruanae	Ruanae is at Arakino
Tei Te-utu-tutai'i	At Te-utu-tutai'i
...	
Te pao nei i te ara	(He) cracks the pandanus berries
Te kai nei i te ua nono i te raei	(He) eats the fruit of the *nono* tree upon the *raei*
Aore e tumu ia uta	(He has) no land in the interior.[54]

Akapautua tei poro io ia vaia	Akapautua enjoined Vaiaa
Ei Ivirua, ei ora ake ia tatou	We will survive at Ivirua
Reviri ake i reira	Gather there
Kua maru te rakau o te ao e	The forest will shelter the conquered
Noo mai vaia i te makatea	Vaiaa stayed on the *makatea*
E tai paa,	By the sea.[55]

Punipuni aere i te auiti e	Hiding at Te Auiti
...	
Kite ake au i reira	I found there
Ki te ao taka runga	The world turned upside down[56]

Kapara te ii e	Ripe chestnuts
I te piaki e	In the *piaki*
...	
Koi aere atu i reira	Going to collect
I te kapara o te ii	The ripe chestnuts

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[53] **G** 44; **DL**, 120--22. The translation is adapted from Gill's translations in both these sources. Avaavatakina was a well known refuge for the vanquished located near the shore. Tuanaki was a refuge in the interior of Veitatei. Tumakatea referred either to 'rock gods' (**G** 44), or to 'forest gods' (**DL**, 121). Te Aumoko was 'a narrow valley'. In **DL** the place name Takimivera was described as 'impervious thickets', obviously another refuge. In **G 44** Gill rendered 'drupe' (in **DL**) as 'soft core'. The translation of the last line is debatable. I have opted to base mine upon the **DL** version, however, in **G 44** Gill renders the first phrase: 'Thy want was extreme'.

[54] **G** 44; **G** 45, 'E Pee rai teia no runga rai ia Vaia'; **DL**, 181--83. This refers to the defeat of the Tepei (Teipe) tribe by Ngāti Vara. Ruanae was the tribal leader. Arakino was located amongst 'the rocks', presumably in the *makatea*. Te-utu-tutai'i is apparently a place, although Gill renders it as 'where a solitary Barringtonia grows'. Presumably there was a single *utu* tree growing there. The *raei* was part of the *makatea*.

The last line is not translated literally since *tumu* means, e.g. source, root, foundation. Savage, 143. Gill rendered the line: 'For none befriended him!'. However the composer may have meant 'source' in the sense of the *taro*-growing swamp being the source of life. These are located in the interior of the island and can be seen from the *makatea*. I have interpreted the text accordingly.

[55] **G** 45, 'E Pee teia no runga ia Vaia, no tona Taka Makatea anga'; **DL**, 206--208. Akapautua was a principal chief of the defeated Tepei (Teipe) and father of Vaiaa.

[56] **G** 45, 'E Pee no Namu'; **DL**, 159. The excerpt refers to Namu's period as a refugee. Te Auiti was a valley in Mangaia. The translation of the last line differs substantially from Gill's rendering: 'The bitterness of a fugitive's lot'.

Koi aere atu maurangi e	Maurangi goes to collect (them)
I te ngai tapureu atu i reira	(They are) cooked on the spot there
Kua kapitia e te ao	Joined by the conquered.[57]

Tueru ia'tu Rongo	Expelled by Rongo
Ia tuā pāpa	From the land
Tavake i te kopungā rā	The tribe is like a *tavake* bird
I te avatea	At dawn
Oe mate iō	Many die
Oe ora'tu	Some live
Ka oro Tutavake i ora ake	Tutavake flees to survive.[58]

Kau anga kore	Without anything
Tavare onge	Confused by hunger
Kua noo Rori i te toko pe	Rori rests upon a rotten stick
Ia Maruata,	Upon Maruata
Naai e rave ake?	Who helped (him)?[59]

Some refugees, like Rori who was a *ta'unga*, were able to fend for themselves. Gill retells many of Rori's ingenious ways of providing himself with food, shelter and adequate clothing from the scanty material around him.[60] Nevertheless, even such a canny craftsman as Rori suffered privations:

U, kua tu ei to are	Your house stands
Are rau kapakapa kotaa	A house covered by *kotaa* fern
Kapitia Rori e te ua nui i te raei	Rori was drenched by the heavy rain on the *raei*
E aoa te tamaka	The sandal of *aoa* tree bark
I aere ei Rori i te rangi piri	Rori travelled over the *rangi piri*[61]

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[57] **G 45**, 'E Pee no Rori'; **DL**, 236--38. The *piaki* or *pi'aki* is an ecological zone characterised, according to Mark, 232, by sea-worn gravel and/or sand. It is located between the lagoon and the beach. Maurangi is another name for Rori, the subject of the song. The penultimate line follows Gill's reading of this phrase. My translation of the last line differs significantly from Gill's. He wrote: 'Grey dawn surprised thee'.

[58] SSSP Newell 9, 'Eva na Teinaakia no te Mate ia Tuaopapa'; **G 45**, no title, first line: 'Ka ano au a motu ...'; **DL**, 98. There are a number of variant readings of the Mangaian text: l. 1 'Tueru ia atu Rongo'; l. 2 'păpă' or 'păpā'; ll. 3--4 in one version read 'Tavake i te kopu/ Nga rā i te avatea' (doubtless a misreading); l. 6 'Oe ora atu'; l. 7 'Ka ao Tutavake'. A full listing and discussion of these variants in Appendix D. The translation is partly adapted from Gill. The *tavake* is the tropic bird much valued for its red tail feathers. Savage, 368.

[59] **G 45**, 'E Pee no Rori'; **DL**, 238--39. Gill has pointed out that the reference to the rotten stick 'toko pe' is probably a pun on Rori's tribe Tepei. A god was usually designated as a *toko*, stick or support, on which its worshippers relied. Maruata was a prominent Tepei who was sacrificed. His name seems to have become an alternative tribal designation. The Tepei (Teipe) like the rest of the Tonga'iti were amongst the tribes designated for sacrifice on Mangaia. **DL**, 239 fn. 2; **M&S**, 306--309.

[60] **DL**, 222--36.

[61] **G 45**, 'E Pee no Rori'; **DL**, 236--38. The *rangi piri* is difficult to translate; it may be part of the *makatea*, where Rori lived. Gill rendered the phrase 'for the hour of peril', suggesting he understood the phrase as something like 'the day near at hand'.

The dispossessed had not only to face the trials of nature but the active enmity of enemies who might still seek them out and slay them. The fear of death often forced the *'aō* to keep on moving from place to place. These uncertainties were caught in a song about the Tepei refugee Vaiaa.

Ka ka ano au	(They) will want me
Ka kimi e	(They) will search
Kimi ra i Tomoariki	Search at Tomoariki
Tei reira te uinga ao,	There (live) the conquered
Mai te uinga ao	Here the gathering of the conquered
E kimi i to ara e	(They) will seek for your path
E umi to inangaro	Your desires are uncertain
E naea ra vaia	Where will Vaia go?
E na tai aina	By the shore?
E eke i raro atu	Descending below
Mei eke atu ki raro	Descending down
I raro te tapa utu,	Below the *utu* trees
Ua akarongo aere	Listening
I te varara rakau	To the rustling in the trees
Ua ariu kimiri	Turn behind
E tamaki aina	Is there a weapon?
Kua e anga	Mistaken
Me anga aere atu	Turn to go
Tei mua paa to mate	Before you die.[62]

An *'aō* could also be preyed upon by fellow refugee warriors, several of whom killed and ate members of their own tribes.[63]

Such fears and insecurities inspired the hunted *'aō* to turn to *atua* for assistance. An example is the continuation of the above song about Vaiaa.

Te tangi nei te atua	The god cries
Akatapa vaia	Vaia calls
Ko Te makavetai e	O Te Makavetai
Mei Te-maka-ve-tai ra	From Te Makavetai
E naea taua	Where shall we go?
Mana tena atua e	That god speaks
E naea taua e	Where shall we go?
Ei tai ngai atu	Along the coast
Ua meamea i te noo inga	The resting place is of no significance
Ia kite te mata i te enua	The eyes perceive the land
Mai kite atu Vaiaa!	Vaiaa sees (it).[64]

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[62] **G 45**, 'E Pee teia no runga ia Vaia, no tona Taka Makatea anga'; **DL**, 206--208. Some parts of my translation are very different from Gill's rendering: l. 7 reads 'take heed to each step'; l. 16 reads 'a lurking foe'; l. 16 *tamaki* = fight, battle. However a weapon or enemy seems more appropriate in this context.

[63] E.g. **DL**, 103--105, 108--14, 123--27, 185, 199--201.

[64] **G 45**, 'E Pee teia no runga ia Vaia, no tona Taka Makatea anga'; **DL**, 206--208. l. 6 and 'taua e' in l. 7 are MS additions which are not printed in **DL**. The *atua* in l. 1 is rendered by Gill as 'guardian bird'. Te Makavetai was the guardian of the *raei kerekere*. He appears in a number of songs as a protector of the dispossessed. **DL**, 207 fn. 2. Gill renders the last three

Kukupa te manu ra	The *kukupa* bird
...	
E tangi nei i runga i tau tukiavaki	Cries over your head
Tau tukiavaki	Your head
Tai atai na T[e]makave ia Maurangi	A form (sent) by Temakavetai to Maurangi[65]

The *'aō* relied upon deities associated with the refuges themselves such as Te Makavetai, doubtless descendants of Tumuteanaoa, whose domains were closely identified with the dispossessed.[66]

All Mangaians could rely upon a series of cross cutting alliances extending far beyond their own tribe which might be called upon in such difficult circumstances. Many individuals defeated in battle were saved by the intervention of a friend, relative or other family connection on the victor's side.[67] As Gill remarked: 'When a great favour--life or land--was sought, it was wonderful how close the relationship was made to appear'.[68] Women played an important facilitating role in such situations since they married outside their tribe.[69] Sometimes a defeated party was united to the victor's tribal group by a marriage with the victorious chief's daughter. This was intended to strengthen the winning tribe.[70] In order to protect their children mothers would often adopt them into their own family at birth, or more exceptionally as young adults.[71] Stories of *'aō* being succoured

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lines very differently: 'I weary of this desolate place./ Oh, to set foot again in the interior!/ How would the heart of Vaiaa then rejoice'.

[65] **G 44**; **G 45**, 'E Pee no Rori'; **DL**, 236--38. Maurangi was another name for Rori. The translation is partially adapted from Gill. This song text has a number of variations between the MS and published version. E.g. in l. 3 and l. 4 of this excerpt 'tau' is rendered 'taua' in **G 44**. After l. 4 **DL** inserts an additional line: 'Ko te vāi pare koe e karanga nei' ('In pity they called to thee').

In other parts of this song the MS order of verses was transposed. Additional lines occur throughout **DL**.

[66] See Chapter 4 for further discussion.

[67] E.g. **DL**, 21, 25, 70--71, 85, 105--106, 116--17, 161, 234, 286--89.

[68] **CIC**, 9.

[69] **MangS**, 91; **CIC**, 5.

[70] Ibid.

[71] **MangS**, 97--99; **CIC**, 1, 6, 9. Gill's **CIC** text is based on an essay 'Heathen Dedication of Children'. SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'. A famous example of adult adoption was Mana'une, **DL**, 193--97.

by a female lover, sister, daughter or other female relative occur throughout Mangaian history.[72]

A woman would often prevail upon her husband, or sons, to lend assistance to her family, sometimes threatening suicide if the spouse failed to heed her requests.[73] On occasion a wife was not in a position to intervene to save her kin and could only express her grief. Thus Terei, of the Tonga'iti, the wife of the Ngāriki *kai*, Tuanui, could not prevent either her brother (or husband) Iro being exiled, or her father Ngāngāru being sacrificed by her husband's tribe:

O Terei e tu mai	Terei is standing
Ua iriā te mānava	Overcome with grief.[74]

On the other hand wives were often identified with their husbands and the husbands' family, even to the point of protecting them in battle.[75]

A chief in Mangaia was expected to give succour to his wife's family. He was criticised if he did not. One unfortunate chief, Vaangaru, was upbraided by his mother for giving up a secondary wife to be sacrificed: 'E pa kikau ngaengae koe, e tau ariki' ('You are a tattered screen of coconut leaves, o my *ariki*'). She meant that he was incapable of shielding his dependants as a tattered screen of leaves could not keep out the elements. Gill noted the opposite was said of a chief who protected everyone under his 'shadow': 'Te are rau maru' ('The house of sheltering leaves').[76] A chief who called out *'aō* whom he wished to shelter was referred to as a *ruarā* (literally, 'sun-hole'), an allusion to the emergence of the conquered from their caves into the light.[77]

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[72] E.g. Ibid., 24--31, 88--95, 170--72, 274.

[73] Examples of women intervening with their husbands in **Life**, 42, 345; **DL**, 188--91, 202--204.

[74] **G 45**, 'Pee no Iro'; **DL**, 140 and fn. 1. The sources disagree regarding Iro's status. Gill thought he was Terei's brother, whereas Mamae considered them husband and wife. Arekare, who later caused the Ngāriki to split, was their son. SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[75] **CIC**, 8; **DL**, 279, 297.

[76] **Jottings**, 229--30.

Another form of cross-tribal assistance was the protection a wife obtained for a husband from her own family.[78] A famous example was that of the *ariki no te tapora kai*, Namu. After his Vaeruarangi subtribe of Ngāriki had been defeated in battle his wife, Tetui, asked her own father, Keu, the *pi'a atua* of Tepei (Teipe), a Tonga'iti subtribe, to provide protection. He hid Namu in the god's sanctuary:

E patikoru i Te-korokoro	A *tikoru* screen at Te-korokoro
Tetai ora nga ia Namu	A life for Namu
O Teipe oki te toko	Teipe supported him
Auraka e tau are rau	Did not your wife provide shelter?[79]

The wife was likened to a house protected by leaves. The metaphor of the sheltering house was a favoured image in Mangaia's literature.

References to sheltering an *'aō* recur throughout Mangaian song poetry.

Te vā nei i vaitepongi	Residing in Vaitepongi
Te maru nei e tapautu	Protected in the densest thickets
O te eke tumu ta kaiara	Kaiara was utterly defeated
O Tavero e o Meduā oki,	Tavero and your parent also
Mau ki te tama e teia e!	Taken up by the child here.[80]

Kitea mai Vaiaa mei uta i Tongarei	Vaiaa was discovered inland at Tongarei
Kua rongo koe i te pati e	You heard (them) asking
Tetai mama ia Vaiaa	For a bit of Vaiaa
Kua rave a Teuanuku	Te Uanuku saved (him)
Te Kou rauaika topa e!	The bundle of banana leaves (for cooking Vaiaa) was abandoned

...

Tapiri i roto, ei te pu meika	Clinging to the stem of the banana tree
I te pu meika, kua nānā temata e	In the stem of the banana tree, raising (your) eyes
Eaa ta tatou ika e?	'Where is our fish?'
Aore au e pa atu	'Do not touch'
E kiko oki no Teko	'A relative of Teko'

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[77] SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'; **Life**, 34. In his published work Gill only gave an English explanation for the Mangaian. In the MS he added another interpretation: 'The light of my existence!'

[78] E.g. **DL**, 290--94.

[79] **G 45**, 'E Pee no Namu'; **DL**, 159. Story in **DL**, 153--56. The *tikoru* refers to the screen of special paper-mulberry cloth which was hung before the sanctuary, located in part of the priest's house.

[80] **G 45**, 'Pee no Kaiara'; **DL**, 191. Vaitepongi is described by Gill as an area of desolate rocks. The 'child' protecting the refugees was Namu, the *ariki no te tapora kai.* Kaiara was the parent, composing the song for her son, Te Nio. Tavero was a sister. They were related to Namu's wife.

Kitea i Maruia	Found at Maruia
Kua ngara i te mate ra aia.	He dreaded his death![81]

Ua ora Te-vaki ia Raumea	Te Vaki was saved by Raumea
Ei Tamaru, na Mautara	Mautara was his shelter
E ora'i Kaukare nei.	Kaukare survived.[82]

E piri ake Namu i te rau puka	Namu clung to the *puka* tree leaf
Noo mai paa i te makatea	Staying upon the *makatea*
Eiea ratau ai ē?	Where could he rest?
Raumea oki te rave	Raumea saved (him)
I te taranga ora i noo e	His life was secured in his hands.[83]

Akatauria i te tura	Kindly succoured by a friend
I te kainga ia manaune	In the lands of Mana‘une
Kua anau te tama	The son was born
Tai piritanga i maru ai au e.	An alliance that shelters me.[84]

Given the social approval extended to acts of protection the killing of relatives, in particular those dedicated to the same *atua* (*ta atua*), was considered particularly reprehensible.[85]

Taia Namu i Tavaenga	Namu was slain at Tavaenga
Ua motu koe ia Potai	You were severed by Potai
O te puputa motu no te metua	The parent was rent apart
O te anau tupu ua te ta e	The closest family did the slaying.[86]

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[81] G 44; DL, 205--206. The translation is partly adapted from Gill. Tongarei was a valley. Maruia, according to Gill, was ‘a shady vale’. Vaiaa was the Tepei (Teipe) refugee; he was related to Te Ko, Te Uanuku's mother. Te Uanuku was the eldest son of Mautara and the *mangaia.*

[82] G 45, ‘E Mata Moni teia’; DL, 59--60. Te Vaki was *pi‘a atua* of Tāne; Kaukare was his oldest son; Mautara was the *pi‘a atua* of Motoro and Te Vaki's brother-in-law; Raumea was one of Mautara's elder sons.

[83] G 45, ‘Pee no Namu’; DL, 158--59. Namu was the *ariki no te tapora kai.* Raumea's father, Mautara, accorded Namu protection in order for him to participate in the inaugural ceremonies for Mautara's eldest son, Te Uanuku, as *mangaia.*

[84] G 45, ‘E Pee no Rori’; DL, 238--39. The verse refers to the *ta‘unga* Rori who was protected by Mana‘une in exchange for carving his god. The men were related. The first line of the translation is by Gill and is probably not strictly literal. The last line is a looser rendering; the original would most likely read, in translation: ‘One place to cling to as a shelter for me’. Gill rendered it as: ‘Oh for a rock under whose shadow I might rest!’

[85] MangS, 156.

[86] G 45, ‘Pee no Namu’; DL, 158.

As Gill noted: 'A number of similar atrocities has made the name of Potai in Christian times almost synonymous with Satan'.[87]

The transfer of power, so often marked by violence, emphasised the divisive aspects in Mangaian society. Different families loyal to their own chiefs within a tribal group or from different tribes would battle it out for the glittering prize. The tensions, fears and lingering bitterness were often given vent in song poetry. Notwithstanding these feelings, Mangaians sought to reincorporate the *'aō* from out of their refuges back into society. The dual themes of division and reintegration so obvious in the contest to succeed as *mangaia* were also echoed in the efforts made to formally reestablish the peace of the new reign.

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[87] Ibid., 158 fn. 1.

TEN

THE PASSAGE TO PEACE

The *'au* of a *mangaia* was severed (*motu*) by the slaying of a victim: 'E ika kia motu te 'au' ('A fish to sever the rule').[1] Certain of these sacrifices were called *ika tea* when high ranking persons voluntarily sacrificed themselves to spur their tribe on to victory.[2] Once the *'au* ended all life became insecure. The *tapu* of the *ariki* disappeared and with it their immunity from assault. The *ariki pa tai* left his (or her) seaside residence and returned to his (or her) ancestral properties inland.[3] Such a pattern recalls the initial killings by Tukaitaua and the terrified clustering of Mangaians in the interior. The instability could only be resolved by the declaring of a new *mangaia*-designate.

The passage to peace was a lengthy one full of elaborate ceremony and marked by many symbols. Aspects of the passage, especially the human sacrifice, have attracted a great deal of attention.[4] However other facets and their significance have been more or less overlooked. Nor have all the conflicts for control of the island which underlay the peace process been fully explored, in particular, the potential for conflict between individual spiritual and temporal rulers and the tense transition to Christianity. The passage to peace and its underlying conflicts form the subjects of this chapter.

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[1] **MangS**, 181.

[2] Ibid., 183; Te Rangi Hiroa, MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 3.4, Cook Islands Field Notes, iv, p. 72, BPBML. His examples are taken from **DL**.

[3] **DL**, 317.

[4] Gill provided the most detailed description of the proceedings, based on information from Numangatini. Te Rangi Hiroa concentrated on an analytical categorisation of the different forms of sacrifices. The principal sources used in the following discussion of the peace process are **M&S**, 289--305; **MangS**, 179--83; **MP**, '8. The Lord of Mangaia'. Other sources are cited where applicable.

Ironically, attaining peace became a perilous time for the *'aō* since the *'au* could not occur without one of their number being killed. This sacrifice was considered as compensation for the bringing of violence to the island, in Mamae's words 'tei apai tamaki mai' ('those who brought war').[5] Once the *'au* was declared the defeated party was expected to work for the victors in order to pay for the spilt blood: 'Ei tutaki i te toto i ta'e'.[6]

The proclamation of peace, like the declaration of war, reflects the forms told in the mythological structurings of Mangaia's past. After the contest for control of Mangaia had been decided, the victorious party processed seven times round the island. One of these marches intended, in Gill's words, 'to assert the absolute supremacy of the winning party', was undertaken in battle array. Anyone crossing the warriors' path was killed.

This warlike procession appears to have been a counterpart to the procession undertaken upon any natural death.[7] In that case a messenger (*manu*) travelled round the island. At each district boundary he gave the war shout of those people and announced the identity of the deceased. Besides notifying the kin the announcement set in motion a series of imitation battles by the *toa*. These contests were called 'ta i te mauri' ('killing the ghost' [i.e. the dead]). The connection to actual combat was emphasised in the description applied to the 'ta i te mauri': 'E teina no te puruki' ('A younger brother of war').

The *toa* of each district armed themselves as *aka-oa* (make friends) and met the *mauri*, or *toa*, of the deceased's district. The linkage with the dead was heightened by the leader of the *mauri* party wearing a sacred *iku kikau* (coconut leaf) at the pit of his stomach in imitation of the dead. A bloodless battle was joined between both parties, to fight off 'malignant spirits' [*tuarangi* ?] who might be disposed to harm the living. The two groups then united as *mauri* and proceeded to meet the *aka-oa* of the next district. The procedure was repeated for all the districts of the island.

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[5] M.

[6] Te Rangi Hiroa, MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 3.4, Cook Island Field Notes, iv, p. 74, BPBML; MangS, 111.

[7] M&S, 268--69.

Subsequent marches by the victorious party after the contest for the *mangaia* were more peaceful. One of them was terminated by the chiefs ceremonially breaking spears, probably made for the occasion, against a large chestnut tree opposite the 'principal interior marae', Akaoro.

Other symbols of peace were used to mark the ending of hostilities. A forked and well notched stick (*toko*) was set up on each *marae* representing the support of that *marae*'s chief for the *mangaia*. *Toko* was also a metonym for the chief himself. An *'are ei 'au* (house for peace) was erected on every *marae*. Measuring 1.8 metres in length the houses were distinguished by their thatching and the use of religiously associated *tikoru* to screen their doors. They represented the upholding of the peace, or reign, by the gods and worshippers associated with the *marae*. These houses, like the national godhouse, Te Kaiara, gave expression to a Mangaian belief that providing the gods with a well thatched house would prevent the eruption of the elements, namely, war. Vaekura, the *pi'a atua* of Tāne, voiced this sentiment:

> *Ei te kapitanga avini ua e to ai! O te atua ia maru.*
>
> Let the small *avini* fish (i.e. man) be satisfied with humblest shelter! Only see to it that the god be well-housed.[8]

Before the seventh and final march a human sacrifice was offered to Rongo, 'ei ika i te mangaia' ('as the fish for the *mangaia*').[9] The victim was commonly called 'te ika ta mangaia' ('the fish of the *mangaia*'), or 'te ika 'akatangi pa'u' ('the fish to sound the drum').[10] The person was taken from one of the so-called dedicated tribes (*kopu ika*, the fish family).[11] These tribes had either arrived after the original tribe, Ngāriki, or were considered *'aō*. The victim was nominated on Rangimoti'a by the *ariki pa uta* and the leader of the victorious party.[12] The *ariki* invested a chosen warrior, or warriors, with a 'sacred girdle', presumably a special *maro*.[13]

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[8] SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'. The translation is adapted from Gill.

[9] Te Rangi Hiroa, MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 3.4, Cook Island Field Notes, iv, p. 72, BPBML.

[10] Ibid.; MangS, 180.

This was the most dangerous time for the *'aō* who either hid or stayed close to their protectors. Otherwise they might share the fate of Maruata who was lured out of his hiding place on a pretext and slain.

Ua tanimo tai kopu	Te 'Āmama sold you
Te raka nei tai āiā i ua ē ïa mai e!	Deceived, you were misled o Mai![14]

The warrior(s) proceeded to hunt the chosen victim whose body was then taken to a platform (*atarau*) of pandanus wood (*pange-ara*) opposite the national godhouse.[15] This structure lay between Akaoro, the *marae* of the *ariki pa uta*, and Araata, the *marae* of Motoro.

Vaarire te ika i te kapua e tangi ra	Vaarire, the fish for the altar, weep
...	
Ngutuku oki ka apaina	Ngutuku is borne,
Ite kapua ei ika na Rongo	To the altar, as the fish of Rongo
Anatia, ia mau, ia ketaketa	Secure, tie (the victim)
Kotia vaarire	Divide Vaarire
...	
Ua maranga o Vaarire i te kapua	Lift Vaarire up to the altar
E urutupu ariki	A high chiefly ritual
E ika na Rongo	A fish of Rongo
E apai e takitaki aere	Carry, lead (it) along.[16]

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[11] Te Rangi Hiroa, MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 3.4, Cook Island Field Notes, iv, p. 72, BPBML.

[12] **DL**, 84, 151.

[13] E.g. ibid., 84--85.

[14] **G 45**, 'E Tangi, no nunga ia Maruata, no te Kakai ia Puai, na Koroa i Atu'; **M&S**, 308. Gill translated this text slightly differently: 'They cruelly sold thee./ Thou was deceived to thy death, O Mai'. In the MS Gill explained that 'tanimo' = 'Te Amama'.

[15] In an illustration Gill depicts a sacrifice lying on a platform within the precincts of Akaoro itself. **Life**, 37. Reproduced in **CIC**, 17.

[16] **G 45**, no title; **M&S**, 309--12; excerpts in **Life**, 324--25; **MangS**, 181. The lament commemorates Vaarire or Ngutuku. The translation is partly adapted from Gill and Te Rangi Hiroa. I have adopted the latter's translation of l. 7 instead of Gill's 'Dance in triumph' as it suggests the notion of the accompanying ritual. Cf. definition of *uruuru-tapu-ariki* in Savage, 441.

The victorious party assembled, well armed and finely dressed, in front of the victim while the *ariki karakia* (i.e. the *ariki pa uta*) chanted the *karakia* for the ‘ika ‘akatangi pa‘u’.[17] The *karakia* was repeated twice.[18]

Several days later the *toa* gathered as before. The *ariki karakia* and friends came forward and carried off the body in a purpose-made scoop net (*ika ka‘a*) to the Orongo *marae* 1.6 kilometres away. The victim was laid on a block of smoothed sandstone (limestone), *te kea inamoa*, in front of a stone image of Rongo: Rongo-nui (Great Rongo). The *karakia* for the ‘ika akatangi pa‘u’ was repeated.

The deposition of the victim at Orongo was followed by his or her ritual dismemberment and the ratification of the victorious party's choice for *mangaia.* Both were presided over by the *ariki pa uta.* The importance of the *ariki* at the *marae*-based ceremonies was underscored by the existence of three rocks, united at their base, which lay close by Orongo and symbolized the three Ngāriki subtribes from which the various *ariki* were drawn.[19]

Each of the assembled chiefs beginning with the *mangaia* in his capacity as a *pava*, was given a slice of the victim's ear by the *ariki pa uta.* Parts of the nose were retained by the collective *ariki* and recognised assistants, including the guardian [*tiaki* ?] of the drum of peace.

Pikao raūti ra	Wrapped in *ti* leaves
I te taringa kotikoti o Maruata	The cut ears of Maruata
Ia ‘ōtō iā	To announce new possessions.[20]

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[17] An illustration which suggests the finery of the assembled *toa* was reproduced by Te Rangi Hiroa in his *Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands*, plate 2 B, where the men (and boys) are dressed in decorated *tiputa* (ponchos) and dance masks and hold spears.

[18] Text of *karakia* in M&S, 295--96; G 45, ‘Karakia no te Ika Akatangi Pau’. The published text does not fully reproduce the MS. After M&S, l. 9 the MS repeats the previous three lines ‘O Vatea ... toro’; ll. 17--21, 25--29 are also repeated in MS. These repetitions may reflect the actual manner of performance.

[19] M&S, 16.

[20] G 45, ‘E Tangi, no nunga ia Maruata, no ta Kakai ia Puai, na Koroa i Atu’; M&S, 307--309. The translation follows M&S, 308 and MangS, 182. The reference to *ti* leaves refers to the part of the ceremony where the *ariki* presented the slices in the leaves to the chiefs to take away with them.

These portions were buried on the respective family *marae* as recognition of the landholders' title. Without such a sacrifice no formal possession could be made of the chiefly offices or land. The burial of the victim's body parts in the different island districts may also have acted as a ritual fertilisation of the land after the unproductive years of conflict and turmoil when agriculture could not be pursued.

The land itself was conceptualised in terms of a body or house metaphor. Gill records how an *atua*, Te Manavaroa, was believed to lie buried face down in the centre of the island, Rangimoti'a. Various localities were described as his head, neck or limbs. The latter marked the island's district boundaries. The right side of Te Manavaroa corresponded to the south of the island: Tamarua, Veitatei, and Kei'a; they are described as the head (*pauru*), body (*pori*) and tail (*iku*) respectively of a fish. The left side of Te Manavaroa corresponded to the northern half of the island: Ivirua, Karanga, and Tava'enga; they are also described as the fishes' head, body and tail respectively.[21]

The fish metaphor arose from the practices followed when dividing a fish for distribution to the island's chiefs. The fish-head was given to the chiefs at the head of the island, (that is, where the sun rose) and so on. Today the island is often likened to a fish.[22] The body and fish metaphors are also applied to the distribution of the various divisions (*putunga*) of food at island feasts (*takurua*). In the nineteenth century the calling out of the *putunga* proceeded from the eastern side of the island (the head) round in a circuit to the tail or western side of Mangaia.[23]

The chiefs of each district were also conceived of as representing a building, presumably a house, which symbolized the state--the body politic. The structure stood, according to Gill's information, from the eastern side of Mangaia to its west. The chiefs of the southern, or right, side of the island were on one side of the building and the chiefs of the northern, or left, side on the other. The *pava* represented the principal rafters; the *kairanga nuku*, the lesser ones; the ordinary people formed the separate leaves of thatching. Mangaia in its turn was the visible expression of a similar dwelling in 'Avaiki; Mangaia being understood as a physical counterpart to the otherworld. The rulership of Mangaia was intimately bound up with the land, its structures, food, people and the spirit world.[24]

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[21] M&S, 128--29; **MangS**, 126.

[22] Papa Aratangi, 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 70; Cook Islands Notebook No. 1, Aperahama; Gunson MS; Clerk, 'Fish of Rongo', 239.

[23] M&S, 129--30.

The *kea inamoa* stone on the Orongo *marae* played a central part in an *ariki*'s public installation in the presence of the gathered *pava*. The spiritual ruler, followed by the *mangaia* at a respectful distance, went to the *marae*. The *ariki* ate from offerings of food which had earlier been deposited there. The *mangaia* then declared 'ka uru Rongo' ('let Rongo enter'), the standard call for the priest to become inspired. The *ariki*, sitting upon the sacred stone, *te koatu karakia*, presumably an alternative name for the *kea inamoa*, then fell into convulsions and spoke oracularly. This was considered the installation ceremony. A feast followed.[25]

The secular ruler was also crucial to the 'secret' part of the ceremony which preceded the formal installation by a few days. There the *ariki* was dressed and anointed by two chiefly representatives of the victorious party deputed to the task by the *mangaia*. Amongst the vestments were the sacred loin cloth, the *maro aitu*, and six garments of thickest *tikoru* which were later deposited in a sacred cave. Gill did not elaborate on his reference to the loin cloth but judging from its description the *maro* may have been the same as that worn by the warrior seeking the sacrifical victim.[26]

The seventh and final procession was made once the sacrifice had been completed. It was the climax to the peace ceremonies. A drum of peace (*pa'u aka'au*) was beaten at Orongo by a hereditary custodian accompanied on smaller drums by members of his family. Beginning at the Orongo *marae* a party led by the *ariki pa uta*, the drum beater, and the victorious party processed around the island. At Orongo and in each of the island's districts the *ariki karakia* began a solo chant for peace, being joined part way through by the male voices of the *ariki* families and the drums.[27] The drumming itself was believed to strike out a message signifying the stretching out of the *'aō*s' legs hitherto cramped up in hiding places.[28] The *pa'u* was later ruptured by a spear and secreted away in a cave.

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[24] CIC, 10.

[25] Ibid., 14. Similar but less elaborate ceremonies were carried out for lesser priests.

[26] DL, 379.

This procession of chanting and drumming announced the liberation of the *'aō*. Weapons were no longer allowed to be carried. Houses scattered about the *taro*-growing areas previously covered by split coconut branches were re-thatched. This practice appears to have commenced only when the *'are ei 'au* themselves had been reroofed, suggesting the latter was undertaken after the drumming of peace. Recognition of the *'aō* was completed when they presented various precious heirlooms to the victors as payment for some land and sustenance,[29] though they had always to labour under the threat of possible eviction.[30] The victors acknowledged this presentation by giving the refugees a feast (*taperu kai*) as a public recognition of their safety.

The inauguration of a new *'au* was further marked by ceremonial tree plantings called 'akairo o te tau mangaia' ('signs of the peaceful era').[31] Coconut trees were planted all over the island. The tree emblem of the victorious tribe was also planted: the *ngatae* or coral tree (*erythrina coralodendron*) for Ngāriki or the *puka-tea (ceodes umbramlifers)* for Tonga'iti.[32] The trees were planted in all the valleys to betoken peace. The *mangaia* probably participated in these ceremonies. Makitaka planted the Ngāti Vara tree, the *pua (fragaea berteriana)*:

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[27] **M&S**, 299; **G** 45; excerpt in **MangS**, 184. There are some variations between the published and unpublished versions of the text: l. 4 & 5 read in MS 'Tumaia ...'. After l. 4 MS adds 'Ia rangi ākē'. After l. 5 MS repeats 'vaerea'.

[28] See text in **MangS**, 185; **MP**, 'Significance of the Drum'.

[29] Te Rangi Hiroa, MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 3.4, Cook Islands Field Notes, iv, p. 29, BPBML.

[30] E.g. **DL**, 99--102; **MangS**, 111--12.

[31] SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'. The term was easily transferred to represent the new peace of Christianity: 'Akairo o te mangaia o Iesu'.

[32] Ibid.; **Life**, 130.

Taku pua i tanu reka e	My *pua* which was joyfully planted
Ua tanu ake koe i Tamarua	You planted (it) in Tamarua
E tupu te au e!	(So that) the reign would progress![33]

The final act in the peace ceremonies was the disposal of the body on the Orongo *marae*. It was retrieved with the scoop net from the *kea inamoa* and dumped within the *marae* precincts for Papa, the mother of Rongo, to feast upon: 'Te ika aua na Papa' ('The fish refuse thrown to Papa'). The net was wrapped around Rongo nui and allowed to decay. The statue itself appears from Gill's description to have been clothed in a *tiputa* (poncho) and head coverings to resemble a living person. Presumably it was intended to represent the sacrificial victim.

The complex of ceremonies and symbols emphasise certain structural connections and oppositions between the principal actions and participants. War was declared by a sacrifice of an *ika* while peace could not be proclaimed without one. The procession to commence the new reign proceeded from belligerent displays and random killings to pacific pronouncements intended for the dispossessed. The marches echoed the quasi-bellicosity displayed upon the announcement of someone's death.

The chief actors in the unfolding of the new reign reflected the oppositions in society, the spiritual versus the temporal, as well as the interactions between them: the joint participation in proclaiming the peace and presiding over each other's installations. The props associated with their respective performances, in particular the *maro aitu* and the *kea inamoa*, were used in ceremonies associated with both the temporal and spiritual rulers. The interaction of these potentially opposed forces represented in a real sense the dynamic of Mangaian society. Without the rulers' harmonisation neither they nor society could function properly.[34] The interaction between the two rulers was also the fulfillment of Mangaia's mythological texts: Tutavake like the *mangaia* reestablished the peace which was ratified by the *ariki*--Rangi--sacrificing to Rongo.

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[33] G 45, 'E Pee no Makitaka'; M&S, 312.

One important artifact, the *toki* (adze or axe) called *maia* (or *ma'ia*), has a contested position at the peace ceremonies. Mamae wrote that an axe called 'Maia' [*Ma'ia*] was given to the *mangaia*: 'Ka tuku ia i runga i te tangata te riro iaia te re'. He held it in his hand during the drumbeating. At the end of this ceremony a *pe'e* associated with the adze was recited by the collective *ta'unga* [the *ariki* ?]. The work, especially its *tumu* (introduction), has certain similarities in language to the *karakia* for peace recorded by Gill.

Rangi marie	Calm weather
Rangi marie	Calm weather
Vaere ai te au o Te-aei	Weed the *'au* of Te-aei
Vaere ai te au o Te-aei	Weed the *'au* of Te-aei
Te unga ma te potiki	The servants and the young
Rangi marie	Calm weather
Rangi marie	Calm weather
Akarea o te akarea anga teia	This is the end, the end
Tupere-tukia e Tangaroa i te rangi	The sky was struck vigorously by Tangaroa
Ia ru tai vaka ka aue e	The tribe was shaken and cried out
Takaia te taua ia ru te papa i atea	Stamp on the battle field till the open space trembles
E maiti te one kura	The red earth shifts
E te rangi tapai ua re	The sky is split, won
Ua re tai vaka o te papa ia	One tribe was victorious on the field
Te a [? reiperepereia] pueu karaea	Heaped, scattered
Pueu karaea	Scattered
Moo uriuri e	*Moo uriuri*
Moo tu tavake	*Moo tu tavake*
Tavake ua roa	The long (tailed) *tavake*
Tavake ua roa	The long (tailed) *tavake*
Kakina mai e	It is thundering
Kakina mai e.	It is thundering.[35]

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[34] This harmonisation was further expressed in the descriptions of the offices of spiritual and temporal ruler: 'Te ara pi'a o Rongo' ('The priestly succession of Rongo') and 'E ara mangaia' ('the *mangaia* succession'); the similarity of phrasing neatly summarising the duality of their rule. Ibid., 293; SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'. Gill translated the first phrase differently: 'The mouth-pieces, or priests, of Rongo'.

[35] **M.** Some of the translations of this song have been made on the basis of annotations following the original Mamae text. 'Tupere tukia' = 'struck vigorously'; 'reiperepere ei' = 'to draw together in one heap while dancing'; 'pueu karaea' = 'scattered like [?] dust'; 'moo-uriuri' = '[(fish)?] a bird'; 'moo-tu-tavake' = '[[Boatswain ?] bird]'; 'akarea mei te akaoti anga anga' ('*akarea* is like the ending'). The *mo'o* or *moko* blackbird was the *atua* of the Tuma tribe. The bird was also an incarnation of Motoro. SSP 1, 'Rev. W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'; **DL**, 333; **MangS**, 171. The *tavake* had long blood red tail feathers which were greatly prized for high chiefly headdresses. Savage, 368. It was used in such hats, *pare piki*, on Mangaia. These *pare* were 'considered to be well worth fighting for'. **DL**, 27.

The mention of the *'au* of Te Aei, or Kirikovi, the *mangaia* who received an axe from Cook, may hint at a connection between the *toki* used during the peace proclamation and the axe which passed through the hands of so many *mangaia* and other prominent leaders.

Toki were certainly significant within Mangaian culture.[36] Gill referred to a *toki* believed to enshrine Tāne-mata-ariki ('Tāne-of-royal-face'), the *atua* of wood craftsmen. Several adzes figure prominently in Mangaian stories, including Ruateātonga which belonged to Rangi. The *eva-toki* (*toki* dirge) was an important category of funeral lament. Wooden *toki* were used 'to cleave the cruel earth', as Gill put it, 'which had swallowed up the dead'. These *eva* were composed especially for dead *ta'unga*.[37] Mangaians were particularly known for the quality of their *toki*, especially their lashing.[38]

Te Rangi Hiroa however did not believe that any *toki* such as the *ma'ia*, the so-called 'peace axe', was used in the peace ceremonies.[39] His criticisms may have partly resulted from an attempt to establish his own ethnographical priority over the previous Mangaian ethnographic record and his informants.[40] Nevertheless, given the acknowledged preeminence of the Mangaian *toki* craftmanship and the prominence of adzes in traditional stories it does not seem unreasonable to suppose their use in peace ceremonies to symbolize a cessation of hostilities.

The various acts associated with the making of peace on Mangaia did not always run smoothly. As with all human activities there were bad performances by the actors or other unforseen hitches that could terminate the proceedings. A designated victim was sometimes warned or protected by friends or relatives amongst the victorious party. Even at the ceremonies prominent members of the victor's side, related to the deceased, might veto the sacrifice of their kin. A victim was also unacceptable if the body was physically marked by violence. The failure to fulfill the sacrifical offering kept the island in a fractious state, until a new victim could be found.[41]

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[36] The following discussion is derived from **MangS**, 132--34; Te Rangi Hiroa, *Arts and Crats of the Cook Islands*, 394; **M&S**, 274 fn. 1; **Jottings**, 223--24.

[37] **M&S**, 272--73.

[38] **MangS**, 132.

[39] See especially *Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands*, 395--96; **MangS**, 132--33; MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 7.6, Cook Islands Adz Measurements, BPBML.

[40] See Chapter 1 for further discussion of this point.

The last victim offered to Rongo before the advent of Christianity highlights the potential for pratfalls in the ceremonial sacrifice. Reonatia was carried to the altar but some time later revived and managed to run uphill for a short distance. He was located and killed and replaced on the altar. Nevertheless, the occurrence was interpreted as a sign of Rongo's anger and amidst much dissension the proceedings were terminated.[42]

The *toa* deputed to locate a designated victim often competed with one another, for the warriors who slew and carried the victim to the *marae* were rewarded with lands.[43] Thus the Ngāti Mana'une, during the process of inaugurating Pangemiro, sought to exclude their ally, the Ngāti Tāne, from leading the hunting party for the *ika*. However the Ngāti Tāne under Arokapiti were too wily. The Ngāti Mana'une warrior who was supposed to locate the victim Te 'Ata was waylaid by a Ngāti Tāne woman long enough for her tribesmen to locate and slay the *ika*. Arokapiti strengthened his tribal claim to a reward of land by having the body carried to Akaoro through his territories.

The same reward was given to those relatives of a victim who acted as *ve'ive'i* or *ve'i* (decoys). Nephews of a mother's brother, who were members of the father's tribe, were most likely to perform such a role. They sometimes directed the party to the victim's location, decoyed him out of hiding or away from his protector, or would stay with the potential, but unsuspecting victim, keeping him amused till the hunting party arrived.

Other persons might betray a potential *ika* to the victors for different reasons. On one occasion Inaango, of the victorious Tonga'iti, who had been covertly feeding a lover,

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[41] Examples of what might go wrong in **Jottings**, 228--29, 233; **M&S**, 295, 306; **DL**, 136--37; **Life**, 324--27, 344--46.

[42] M&S, 304.

[43] The following two paragraphs are based upon ibid., 302--304, 306; **Life**, 42--43; **Jottings**, 228, 233; **MangS**, 80--81, 181--82; **MP**, '8. The Lord of Mangaia'.

Inangaro from the defeated Tepei, discovered he had another woman favourite. She straightway informed Ngauta, the Tonga'iti leader, of his whereabouts. Ngauta led a party and slew Inangaro for the inaugural sacrifice. Inaango continued to express her anger at Inangaro during the sacrifical ceremonies calling: 'Aitoa! Aitoa!' ('Serves him right! Serves him right!').[44]

Members of a defeated tribe, anxious to recover their property, might slay a tribal member and offer him or her to the victors as the inaugural sacrifice in exchange for land. In one case, a girl adopted into her mother's tribe, the Ngāti Vara, but descended on her father's side from the *kopu ika,* Tepei, was slain by Ngāti Vara *toa* for the sacrifice. It was ultimately rejected because not properly designated by the *ariki pa uta* (who in this case was related by marriage to the victim).[45]

The structural oppositions inherent in the relationship between Mangaia's spiritual and temporal rulers were not always resolved in actual performance. The respective office holders were often at loggerheads. Until this tension could be resolved the island remained in a state of war: buildings fell into disrepair, agriculture could not be safely pursued and famine always threatened.[46]

The resolution could be traumatic. Ngauta, the *mangaia,* had the *ariki pa tai* Vaeruarau murdered.[47] The reasons are obscure but may have been a product of the ongoing tribal enmity between the Tonga'iti and the Ngāriki tribes. Raumea, a brother of the Ngāti Vara *mangaia,* Te Uanuku, slew the *ariki pa tai* Kanune for allegedly putting himself above the *mangaia*'s family.[48] The last *'au,* Pangemiro, came into conflict on a number of occasions with the *ariki pa uta,* Te Aoiti (or Te Ao). Information on this last conflict, though fragmentary, nevertheless gives some hint of the sorts of tensions and forms of resolution which could be reached between the rulers.[49]

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[44] DL, 92--95.

[45] Life, 36--40.

[46] M&S, 293.

[47] DL, 86, 316.

[48] See ibid., 317 and Chapter 12 for further discussion of this conflict.

Te Rangi Hiroa and modern Mangaians believed that Te Aoiti objected to Pangemiro's first accession after Makitaka was deposed.[50] This had been engineered by the Ngāti Tāne and Ngāti Mana'une. The *ariki* criticised Pangemiro's youth. He refused to sound the *pa'u aka'au.* According to the *kōrero* Tereevangeria Aratangi, the *ariki* rhetorically asked: 'Naai au i karanga e rutu ite pau i te au o te tamariki?' ('Why should I sound the drum in the reign of children?')[51] The *kōrero* believed that Pangemiro, who had nominated Numangatini as the *ariki pa tai,* got him to undertake the drumming procession instead of the *ariki karakia* himself.[52] Aperahama suggested that Te Aoiti also chose not to cooperate with Numangatini because he was too young and Pangemiro's choice.[53]

The spiritual and temporal rulers also disagreed over the choice of sacrificial victim. Te Rangi Hiroa thought that an important factor in Te Aoiti's opposition to the *mangaia* was the *ariki*'s perception that Pangemiro was attempting to arrogate to himself, through his tribal priest, responsibility for choosing the sacrifices.[54] The texts of the sacrifice however suggest that the two rulers were supposed to decide between them the sacrificial candidate though the ritual dedication of the warrior was carried out solely by the *ariki.* The disagreement between Pangemiro and Te Aoiti may have had more to do with the identity of the victim than any perceived changes in procedure.

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[49] The texts retailing these conflicts while not strictly contradicting each other cannot be relied upon to provide more than a brief vignette of their times.

[50] This paragraph is based upon **MangS**, 81; **MP**, '8. The Lord of Mangaia. (2) The Significance of the Drum'. Gill stopped his historical narrative before the events surrounding Pangemiro's accession. The Mangaian view is cited below.

[51] Papa Aratangi, 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 62.

[52] Ibid., 61--62.

[53] Cook Island Notebook No. 1, information from Pōkino Aperahama, 28 April 1988.

[54] **MangS**, 180--81. A view seconded by Papa Aratangi, 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 61--62.

The Ngāti Mana'une and Ngāti Tāne sources related a story concerning a wooden *ika*. Te Rangi Hiroa believed that a Karanga man, Vairoto, was selected as the victim. Pangemiro was *pava* of the district. Instead of conveying Vairoto to the sacrifice Tuarau and Tumutoa of Ivirua carved a figure to represent the victim which Ngāti Mana'une sent to the *marae* [Akaoro ?] in the man's stead.[55] Tereevangeria Aratangi told a similar story with some variations. Pangemiro was selected as the sacrifice. Vairoto was a location. To avoid offering Pangemiro a wooden fish (or victim) was put forward in his place. This was carved by Arakauvae and Tumutoa using the adze, Ngatoki.[56]

Aperahama related a story akin to Aratangi's. Pangemiro was selected by a gathering of warriors in Kei'a. He refused and instead sought a war. Two carvers made a wooden man to represent Pangemiro which they took to the *marae*. It was covered with a cloth and put on a stick. Following his instructions when asked where Pangemiro was they replied: 'If you are a man go and fetch him'. Realising that Pangemiro was ready to fight they acquiesced and only insisted that Karanga lose one of its six *tapere*.[57]

Gill, though not relating such a story, does explain that Te Aoiti was ultimately deposed because he would only consent to beat the peace drum if two maternal uncles, on the victorious side, were offered as the *ika*. Te Aoiti himself was amongst the defeated party.[58] This referred to the battle at Araeva following Pangemiro's first reign where the challenging tribe, Ngāti Vara, was defeated.[59] Pangemiro may have been one of the relatives referred to: Mamae noted that with Pangemiro's *'au* the title returned to Ngāriki;

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[55] MangS, 128.

[56] MK, 'Ngatoki'; 'Te Tuatua ia Tavaitua'.

[57] Cook Islands Notebook No. 1. Papa Aratangi tells a similar story to this which he derived from his mother Tereevangeria, though his version does not relate the wooden fish and instead explains the origins of Pangemiro's name. 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 57.

[58] CIC, 2.

[59] M; MangS, 82; DL, [311].

Aperahama believed Pangemiro's mother was Ngāriki.[60] Conceivably the wooden fish was used to satisfy what was evidently perceived as Te Aoiti's unreasonable demand.

Te Aoiti's personal opposition to Pangemiro as *mangaia* resulted from the *ariki*'s own genealogical links with the defeated Ngāti Vara.[61] The familial connection explains Te Aoiti's leadership of the defeated tribe at Araeva.[62] He was clearly a leading opponent of the *mangaia.* Te Rangi Hiroa believed that he plotted with elements of Ngāti Tāne against Vaipo, a Ngāti Mana'une *kairanga nuku* in Tava'enga, with whom he had earlier been allied.[63] Vaipo learning of the plot dispossessed Te Aoiti of the land he had allocated to him. At around the same time Pangemiro deposed Te Aoiti as *ariki.*[64] Aperahama suggested that Pangemiro had intended doing this for some time but until his Araeva victory was not certain if he could carry the rest of the people with him.[65] These events, according to Te Rangi Hiroa's reckoning, occurred about, or soon after, the battle of Araeva.[66] Despite his conflict with the *ariki pa uta* Pangemiro did not follow the example of some of his predecessors; Te Aoiti survived his fall and converted to Christianity before he died in 1829.[67]

Mamae's succession list and more especially the 'ara mangaia' manuscript suggests another interpretation of the events surrounding Te Aoiti and Pangemiro:

> *Ua motu to Pangemiro, ua tāia kaitamaki e Teāo, ua reviri te āo i Āriki, ua reviri te Rangatira i ākaoro, ua puruki i Ārāeva, no ngati tane tai vaka, no Teao tai vaka, ia ngati tane te au, kare ra i tangi te paū, kare e ariki ei akatangi, kare oki i kitea te tangata ia mangaia. Ua riro akaou oki ia Pangemiro o tei karangaia ē, e au no te kerekere, e mangaika te kerekere tei roto i te tai, e kūmakū ua tana kai, i*

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[60] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'; Cook Islands Notebook No. 1.

[61] See Figure 15 for Te Aoiti's links to Ngāti Vara.

[62] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'; **Mi 131, 132,** List of Battles by Mamae.

[63] See Figure 15 for a genealogy of Vaipo.

[64] **MangS,** 83.

[65] Cook Islands Notebook No. 1.

[66] **MangS,** 83.

[67] **DL,** 316.

> *karanga'i Pangemiro ia Vaipo ē, 'Ua makū te kerekere e pō' o Pangemiro taua kerekere ra, e rua i tona mangaia, ua vaitata i te tangi te paū.*
>
> Pangemiro's (reign) was severed (when) Te Ao killed Kaitamaki. Te Ao (and his forces) gathered at Ariki; the chief (and his men) at Akaoro. Ngāti Tāne and Te Ao fought at Araeva. Ngāti Tāne took the *'au.* The drum was not sounded; there was no *ariki* to sound it; nor was a person recognised as the *mangaia.* (It) went again to Pangemiro, of whom it was said, the *'au* of the *kerekere.* The *kerekere* is a fish in the sea. It eats *kumaku.* Pangemiro said to Vaipo, 'The *kerekere* has been satisfied, O (Vai)po'.[68] Pangemiro was that *kerekere* fish. It was his second *mangaia.* The drum was about to be sounded.[69]

Mamae says nothing about the earlier opposition of Te Aoiti to Pangemiro's first reign. But he does confirm Te Aoiti's leading role in the opposition to the *mangaia*; the *ariki* himself severed Pangemiro's first *'au.* However in the ensuing battle Te Aoiti was beaten by Ngāti Tāne, suggesting these allies of Ngāti Mana'une in fact fielded the main force.

The defeat of the *ariki* and his forces meant he could not or would not sound the drum. He may, as the modern Ngāti Mana'une and Ngāti Tāne sources suggest, have been using his priestly office to continue opposing Pangemiro's reign. Without the co-operation of the *ariki* no-one could be declared the *mangaia* and the peace could not be proclaimed--a dangerous deadlock had been reached. Pangemiro resolved the crisis by deposing the defeated Te Aoiti and choosing his own candidate, the *ariki pa tai,* Numangatini, as the more senior *ariki pa uta.*[70] The likening of Pangemiro's second *'au* to a *kerekere* fish may have been the origin of the later stories about a wooden *ika.* Despite Pangemiro's selection of a new *ariki karakia* the drum, representing the formal process of proclaiming his new reign, was never sounded due to the arrival of Christianity.

Numangatini may not have held the two priestly titles as Gill and Te Rangi Hiroa have suggested.[71] Mamae wrote that Numangatini and Rauue or Solomona were the *ariki*

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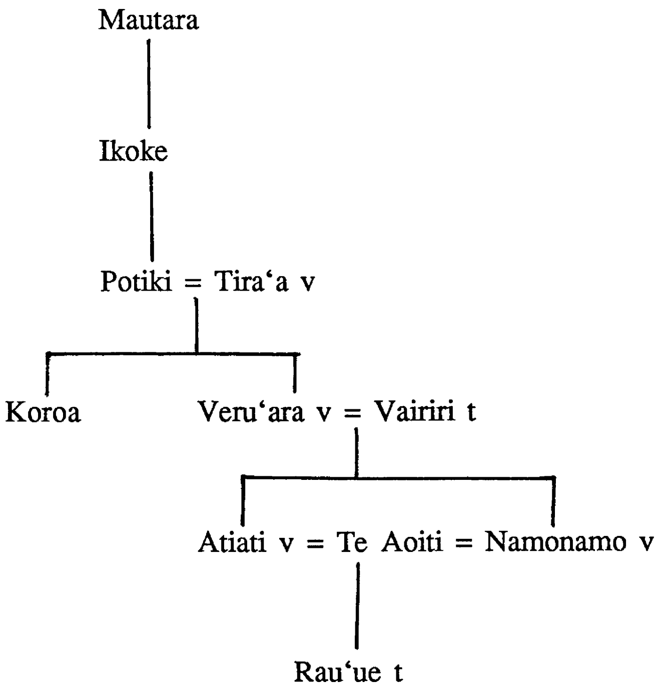
[68] The meaning for 'makū' has been conjectured. The translation is based upon the Tuamotu term = 'To eat -enough, -sufficiently; to eat to -satisfaction, -repletion; to satisfy the appetite; to be appeased'. See Stimson with Marshall, 278.

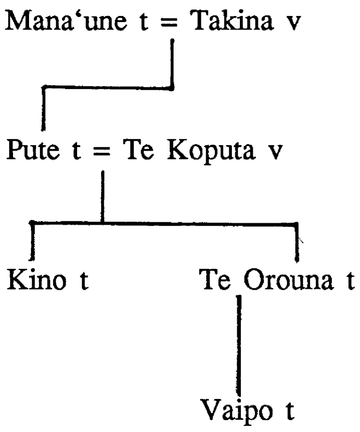
[69] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[70] Part of this crisis is recounted briefly in CIC, 2.

[71] DL, 317; MangS, 83.

Figure 15: Genealogies of Te Aoiti, Rau‘ue and Vaipo[72]





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[72] **B**, Ikoke 3, 4; ‘Alliances of N’Vara with *Ariki* lines’; Gunson MS, ‘Vaipo Title of Ivirua’.

after the battle of Araeva.[73] Solomona was most likely Rau‘ue's later baptismal name. This second *ariki* was probably the *kiko mua* of Te Aoiti. Considering that both Gill and Te Rangi Hiroa ultimately derived their own interpretations from Mamae's list it seems probable that a spiritual ruler has been left out of the standard histories.

Instead Mamae's information paints a different picture. After Araeva Numangatini was translated to the higher office of *ariki pa uta*, hence his mention first in the list of spiritual rulers. Rau‘ue was appointed as *ariki pa tai*. The belief that Numangatini assumed both titles may have arisen from the subsequent changes wrought by Christianity when the *ariki* offices were transformed into one position as a titular ruler over the district chiefs.

Like the *ariki* the status of the *‘au* underwent a transformation following the arrival of Christianity. The reigning chiefs supported the new religion though many people remained outside the church. Perhaps not surprisingly the opposition was led by certain of the priests. In February 1828, five years after the arrival of the new faith, a battle was fought between the Christian or *Kaiparau* (Bookeater) party and the non-Christian, *Etene* (Heathen), or *Tutaeauri* (Iron-excretion) party. The *Etene* were led by the Ngāti Vara *pi‘a atua* Tereavai.[74] Modern Mangaian opinion suggests that a reason for Tereavai's opposition was the marriage of a woman he desired to a Rarotongan missionary.[75] The non-Christians were located in Poutoa, an area occupied by the Ngāti Vara and Te Aoiti,[76] suggesting that the opposition was along similar lines to that defeated at the battle of Araeva.

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[73] **Mi 131, 132**, List of Battles by Mamae; SSSP Newell 9, ‘Ara Mangaia’.

[74] Tereavai was also known as Te Maru. This second name was probably an alternative appellation. **DL**, 335--36; **M**; **Mi 131, 132**, List of Battles by Mamae; SSSP Newell 9, ‘Ara Mangaia’. In his list Mamae notes that the leader was Te Maru. Since Te Maru was a direct ancestor of Tereavai it seems likely that the *pi‘a atua* was using his ancestor's name. See **B**, ‘Ngati Vara Tribe’; Raumea 1.

[75] Cook Islands Notebook No. 1: interviews with Tereevangeria Aratangi and Pōkino Aperahama.

[76] **MangS**, 107; SSSP Newell 9, ‘Ara Mangaia’.

The final contest for control of the island was initiated, according to Mamae, by the *Kaiparau* party led by the Tahaa missionary Davida:

> *E tae akera i tetai tuatau, ua tupu te puruki, no Davida tetai vaka, no Temaru tetai vaka, kare e ara i tei reira puruki, o to Davida vaka tei aere atu, e puruki i Poutoa i te etene, āti atura te etene, riro maira te au i te tara a te Atua e teianoa'i, ua reviri mai te ao i roto i te tara a te Atua*
>
> The time came when the battle took place between Davida's tribe and that of Temaru. There was no violation in that battle. Davida's tribe journeyed to fight the heathen at Poutoa. The heathen were broken. The *'au* went to the word of God, until now. The conquered were gathered within the word of God.[77]

In his list Mamae recorded that the *'au* went to Numangatini, the *ariki*: 'Koia te au o Iesu nei' ('This was the *'au* of Jesus').[78] The defeated side, as Mamae stressed, was subsequently integrated into the Christian community, doubtless strengthened by the military success. The *Etene* were given land to grow the staple food *taro*; their leader, Tereavai, became an *'ui rangatira*, was appointed a deacon and died in good odour with the London Missionary Society.[79]

The *'au* of the *mangaia*, the *koina-rā*, could not shine so illustriously in pre-contact Mangaian society without the assistance of the *ariki*. This dual rulership, always complementary but often in conflict, presided over the island. The success of the peacemaker's reign was not only threatened from above in the shape of the spiritual rulers, but also from below, in the form of the *mangaia*'s fellow *pava*. Their challenges to the peace form an important part of the literature on the *'au*.

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[77] Ibid.

[78] **Mi 131, 132**, List of Battles by Mamae.

[79] **DL**, 336; SSL, WWG, April 25 1865; Cook Islands Notebook No. 1, Pōkino Aperahama.

ELEVEN

THE CHALLENGE OF AREPE‘E

The head of any ruler always rests uneasily. The *mangaia*'s was no exception. Like Frazer's King of the Wood, ever warily circling the Golden Bough, no *mangaia* could relax his vigilance against a potential challenger from amongst the district chiefs. These challenges, like those for the Tongan *hau*, were a legitimate device whereby supreme political leadership, which for various reasons had become ineffective, could be replaced.[1] Needless to say, many *mangaia* were not inclined to go quietly if they could help it, and their vigorous response could turn the tables upon the challenger and his tribe. The stakes which each side played for were always high, the loser faced certain loss of lands and position, even exile or death.

One challenge has become marginalised in the published histories of Mangaia, perhaps because the tribes involved did not figure so prominently in more recent structurings of the past. This was the unsuccessful attempt by Arepe‘e, chief of the Tonga‘iti subtribe Tepei, to challenge the *mangaia*, Ngauta of Tonga‘iti. Several manuscripts detail the events of this challenge. When read with the briefer published accounts they yield much about a challenger's techniques and the *‘au*'s efforts to overcome them.

Ngauta's reign was one of the longest in Mangaian history, testifying to his qualities of generalship. He held the *mangaia* seven times, defeating a series of challenges from the various Ngāriki subtribes and other tribal groups.[2] Ngauta's last *‘au* was held with Tereā of the Tonga‘iti subtribe, Te A‘aki, acting as the *kai* or secondary ruler after the defeat of Arepe'e.[3] Ngauta may have intended this to bolster his political base which must have been affected by the loss of Tepei's support. Unfortunately this new alliance could not prevent either Ngauta's demise or the loss of the *mangaia* to the Ngāriki under Ngangati.[4]

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[1] Gunson, '*Hau* concept', 46.

[2] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'; **M**; **Mi 131, 132**, List of Battles by Mamae; **DL**, [308--309].

Ua pau te aaki	Te A'aki was extinguished
Ua pau te aaki	Te A'aki was extinguished
Ua tauna te matakeinanga o te tipi	The group of Te Tipi has been cooked
E poro ara io ia Ngariki	Sent on their way by Ngāriki.[5]

No genealogy can be reconstructed for Ngauta since the Tonga'iti was no longer a significant tribal grouping in nineteenth century Mangaia.[6] Nevertheless, Gill did preserve some historical information about the tribe in the form of proverbial expressions and songs.

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[3] **Mi 131, 132**, List of Battles by Mamae; SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'. Cf. **DL**, 134 fn. 1, [310]; **MangS**, 35, 104 which list Ngauta as the *mangaia* six times, explaining the seventh as being held by Tereā with Ngauta's consent.

[4] See **DL**, 107, for a short published account of the overthrow and SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[5] **G 45**, 'Pee no Iro'; **DL**, 134. The song about Iro refers to an incident some time after the Tonga'iti lost power. The tribe was exiled by the victorious Ngāriki after plotting to regain the *'au*. Te Tipi was an ancestor of the Tonga'iti. See **DL**, 131--32, for details of the story.

The **DL** version of the song incorporates a number of changes and transpositions from the MS. The lines quoted above came from the MS fourth verse whereas the **DL** has made them the third verse. Consequently the MS third becomes the fourth verse in **DL**. The fifth verse in **DL** (and in its draft in **G 44**) is not given in the MS. The MS fifth verse which follows was not published:

> *Tungia te ai e/ Tei te moana e/ Tei te moana/ Ua piri paa i te tua/ Ki te aka i te rangi/ Ki te aka i te rangi/ E koa te kore/ I te taoa taomia io/ I te papa tua/ E muna e,/ E tae koe i te kao nu momoke/ Iā Raata/ Te enua o te tipi ka eva e*
>
> Light the fire/ By the sea/ By the sea/ Clinging to the side/ (Facing) the roots of the ethereal region/ The roots of the ethereal region/ Joyful that (they) will not be/ Cooked, squeezed out/ From the back of the earth/ A conspiracy/ You touched the bud (of the) single coconut tree/ At Araata/ The land of Te Tipi, lament.

The phrase 'te aka i te rangi' ('the roots of the ethereal region') recurs a number of times in Mangaian songs (see examples in Chapters 6 and 7). It refers to the *tuarangi*, the beyond. The last three lines of this verse are repeated after every verse in **DL**, however Gill rendered them differently. The line 'Iā Raata' is simply an elision for Gill's 'Ia Araata'. Gill appears to have mistaken the last line which he rendered in part, '... te ē o Tetipi ka eva ē', for the MS reading 'enua'. The 'single coconut tree' ('nu momoke') refers to the sacred tree on the Araata *marae* of Motoro, the Ngāriki tribal *atua*. See **DL**, 133 fn. 1.

[6] Ibid., 268, 294. Gill described the tribe as being extinct or almost extinct. However, there appears to have been a continuing Tonga'iti presence, if not a significant tribal grouping, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Cook Islands Notebook No. 1, Pōkino Aperahama. Te Rangi Hiroa noted that for some time after the arrival of Christianity a surviving family of Tonga'iti continued to give food to a lizard representing their god, Turanga. **MangS**, 165. A modern *kōrero*, Iviiti Aerepo, was able to provide a Tonga'iti version of a story in the late 1970s, suggesting a continuing knowledge of the tribe's traditions. Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 398.

The Tonga'iti was especially renowned for its bellicosity. The tribe was nicknamed 'Tumu o Miro' ('The Root of all Bloodshedding').[7] Another proverb suggests a widespread wariness even antipathy towards this group on the part of the other tribes: 'E kuru i tai vaa koatu ei ako ia Tonga-iti' ('Carve out a stone mouth to admonish the Tonga'iti'). Gill believed the phrase referred to the tribe's restlessness and warlike qualities.[8]

Mangaian songs also emphasised the Tonga'iti reputation for fighting.

Puruki Tongaiti	Tonga'iti battled
Ua tā Tongaiti	Tonga'iti killed
E karongā na Rongo	Rongo caused the quarrel
E karongā tuturi	A noisy quarrel
Te vaka autu	The victorious tribe
Te vaka aueke	The defeated tribe
Ua pau mangaia ōi!	Mangaia was exterminated!
Aue te tamaki ē ōi!	Alas the fighting!
Aue ka mate ē!	Alas (they) will die!
E aa te puruki	Fight with what?
E toa te puruki	Fight with ironwood spears
Te vaa o Tongaiti	The mouth of the Tonga'iti
Te kai kākā	The poisonous wood
Tumaeu kura ē	Red like human blood
E ati mata tao	Breaking all weapons
Ei tāki i te ara toko i te ngāēre	Leading the *toko* to an untimely grave![9]

Famous warriors were alluded to in song as keepers or caretakers (*tiaki*) of the house of Tonga'iti. Another instance of the widespread 'house' metaphor in the island's literature.

Oai te tiaki i te are o Tonga'iti	Who were the caretakers of the house of Tonga'iti
O Teiō, a tai,	The first was Teiō
O Tevaki a rua,	The second was Tevaki
Tirango a toru	Tirango was the third
O Paia ka ā	Paia the fourth
Teuira ka rima	Teuira the fifth
O Rarea ka ono.	Rarea the sixth.[10]

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[7] DL, 295. A more literal translation is 'The Root of the *Miro* tree'. The *Miro* (*thespesia populnea*) is a hard and durable wood of a reddish colour. Savage, 162. The colouring doubtless prompted an association with blood. The tree was particularly identified with war. See discussion later in this chapter.

[8] DL, 295. Gill gave two different renderings of this proverb: 'Carve out a stone mouth that will never weary of admonishing the Tongans'; 'A stone-mouth is needed to exhort the Tongans to keep the peace'. Ibid.; M&S, 288.

[9] G 45, 'E Eva na Karaponga no te Mate ia Ruru'; M&S, 275. The translation is partly adapted from Gill.

[10] G 45, 'E eva no nunga ia Ruru, na Arokapiti'; M&S, 276--78; MangS, 158.

The Tonga'iti were considered to have brought Mangaia's 'art of war' to perfection.[11] They were credited with introducing the *toa*, or ironwood tree, which became the favoured wood for weapon making.[12] *Toa* also meant 'warrior'. A second tree introduced by the Tonga'iti, the *miro*, became a synonym for war.[13] Weapons themselves were alluded to as the ''ata taua na Tonga'iti' (TeRH: 'The scaffold belonging to Tonga[']iti').[14]

The tribe held an important place in Mangaian religious ritual. Their *pi'a atua* was the sole maker of the *tikoru* cloth reserved for religiously associated persons and buildings.[15] When the Ngāriki wished to exterminate the tribe after an abortive attempt upon the *'au* the *pi'a atua* of Motoro oracularly advised the victors not to slay the Tonga'iti for this would 'defile' the *tikoru* of the gods. Instead the conspirators were exiled.[16]

The Tonga'iti are depicted very early on in the texts of Mangaia's history contesting control of the island with the original *mangaia* and *ariki*, Rangi.[17] Gill believed the Tonga'iti were driftaway Tongans who landed in Mangaia.[18] Te Rangi Hiroa argued against this view. He emphasised the antiquity in Mangaian mythology of Tonga'iti as a descendant of Vātea and Papa responsible for warriors and places of battle.[19] As supporting evidence for this view Te Rangi Hiroa pointed to Tonga'iti's existence in Rarotonga and Tahiti.[20] Aperahama, possibly following Gill and Te Rangi Hiroa, whom he had read, distinguished between a tribe of Tongans and the descendants of the *atua* Tonga'iti. The latter continue to live in Mangaia.[21]

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[11] **M&S**, 288.

[12] Ibid.

[13] **MangS**, 161.

[14] Ibid., 158.

[15] **DL**, 132.

[16] Ibid., 131--32; SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[17] Ibid., 150--51; **M&S**, 287; SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'. See Chapter 8 for more details of these early contests.

Whether the Tonga'iti were later arrivals or in fact the original inhabitants whose history has been recast by the victors is an issue that cannot be answered given that the surviving texts are not written by the Tonga'iti.

[18] **DL**, 150.

The first published version of Ngauta's conflict with Arepe'e, told by Gill, opens a much longer chapter relating the adventures of a group of Tepei refugees led by the warrior Inangaro who was ultimately betrayed by a lover to the Tonga'iti.[22] The story of Arepe'e's attempted seizure of the *mangaia* provides the necessary historical context for Tepei's reversal of fortunes.

Gill sets his story in the last part of Ngauta's 'iron sway'. The Tonga'iti and the Tepei were politically united under their respective chiefs. However the two groups quarrelled. Arepe'e was believed to have 'maliciously injured' Ngauta's 'beautiful yam vines' growing in front of his dwelling and fouled the stream from which the *mangaia* drank. Gill added parenthetically that these causes were never proven.

Arepe'e was challenged to battle which he, in Gill's phrasing, 'manfully accepted', though he felt he would not be successful. Gill inserted two scenic descriptions. The first described the site of Arepe'e's last feast on the crest of a hill overlooking his home. The second described the scene of the subsequent battle. This took place in a gorge called Ikuari. Gill explained that this 'most extraordinary battle-field' was chosen because it was the favourite pathway to the sea of Arepe'e's daughter, Ta'aumārama. Gill also hinted that this woman was the real reason for the conflict, though he does not elaborate.

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[19] 'Tei aia te pi'a i te toa e te vaingaere'. **Bmm**; **MangS**, 17. Te Rangi Hiroa rendered the Mangaian text differently: 'He had the receptacle of bravery and military enterprises'. He also made minor amendments to the vernacular word divisions. The rest of the texts for this creation story replicate the above phrase. See **MK**, Iviiti Aerepo, 'Kapua anga Tangata o Auau Enua'; **M**.

[20] **Mangs**, 37.

[21] Cook Islands Notebook No. 1.

[22] **DL**, 88--98.

An important feature of Ikuari, which Mangaians still pointed out in the nineteenth century, was the rock on which Ngauta had fought alone until rescued by his friends. The contemporary note suggests the source of the author's story lay in a guided tour of the island's historical sites. Gill concluded the account by noting that the Tepei were utterly defeated and that the survivors fled to various refuges. This ending led immediately into the main story of the chapter, retailing Inangaro's betrayal by one of his Tonga'iti lovers, Inaango.

In contrast to this cursory telling by Gill his manuscripts about Arepe'e are much more detailed. Two substantial versions exist. The first and longest was written by Mamae. This is supplemented by a short but significant excerpt in his 'ara mangaia' manuscript. The authorship of the second major account is not clear.[23]

Mamae opened his text with an authorial metastatement, warning the reader, in his case Gill, that the following was all he had learnt of 'the song you know about Mataiti'. Mamae added a plea that the period of the story be looked upon sympathetically, an obvious allusion to the heathen/Christian dichotomy observed in Mangaian history retelling.[24] The story proper opened with a brief outline of the subject: 'This is the manner of separation of Ngauta and Arepe'e'. Mamae also established the story's structure: 'They divided over three crimes'.

The first crime concerned Ngauta's plot of yams. Ngauta visited the plot and discovered that the yams had been tampered with and the young leaves eaten. Realising that someone had purposely done this he gathered his people together and gave them instructions to prepare food. He told the fishermen to get fish and another group to make a *poke* pudding.

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[23] Neither of the two longer texts indicates the author. They were compared with autograph letters by Mamae to establish his authorship. Because of their length the versions are retold in summary form. The full texts of the vernacular with annotated translations are provided in Appendix C. **Mi 131, 132**, 'Te Pee taau i Kite ia Mataiti ra'.

[24] See Chapter 1 for further discussion of this influence.

When the fish had arrived he gathered them together to be cooked and gave one portion of food to every two people. After the food was cooked he gathered the feast together and summoned the people to eat. Meanwhile he watched for the one who ate least and did not stay long. It turned out to be Arepe‘e. Ngauta decided that it must have been Arepe‘e who crushed his yams but he kept this knowledge to himself.

The ending of the first crime explained why Ngauta came to his conclusion about Arepe‘e, ‘because he had eaten very little’. Mamae quoted a proverb: ‘Do not eat like Arepe‘e’, and discussed its meaning.

The second crime was more personal. A clump of faeces-contaminated grass was put into the water from which Ngauta drank. Mamae spent a large part of his account explaining the precise method by which this was done so as to make the drinking water very bitter. He also identified the exact location of the deed as well as the residences of both Ngauta and Arepe‘e in Veitatei. He twice addressed the reader, Gill, asking whether he knew the place he was talking about. Once more however Ngauta chose not to disclose his thoughts, merely biding his time.

The third crime has a more complicated texture and may be divided into two subsections. The first concerned Ngauta's discovery of the deed. This crime was by far the most important for it, in Mamae's words, ‘released Ngauta's feelings’. In a dialogue segment Akaina told Ngauta that Akaina's child had wept because Arepe‘e had had intercourse with his wife.[25] Ngauta had not realised this and revealed to Akaina Arepe‘e's previous crimes. Ngauta decided to act and expel Arepe‘e.

This subsection ended by identifying the child as Nge‘enge‘e, and his wife as Ta‘aumārama, Arepe‘e's daughter. Mamae also elaborated upon Akaina's tribal connections; he was A‘aki and Tonga‘iti on one side as well as Tuma and Pei. Because he belonged to Pei (i.e. Tepei) he was not able to kill Arepe‘e.

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[25] The exact text in the Mangaian reads: ‘E kakaro mata ua no Arepee i te vaine a tau tamaiti te kanga ia maira e te tangata, i tera rā, i tera rā’. A more literal translation would be: ‘Arepe‘e is always looking at the wife of my child. (He) fornicates (with her) every day’.

The second subsection related the death of Akaina and his instructions to Nge‘enge‘e. When he became sick Akaina told Nge‘enge‘e not to cry immediately after his death but to wait till Ngauta had arrived. He was then to deliver the song excerpt: ‘The speeches of Teaaka, I am also from the south’.[26] Mamae authorially interposed an explanation of the phrase: ‘The thing being that Akaina could not kill Arepe‘e’. Akaina lay awake waiting for Ngauta.

Akaina died at Kei‘a. Ngauta travelled from Veitatei to kiss him. Nge‘enge‘e cried and delivered the song excerpt: ‘O ngā kōrero a te aka o, mei tonga oki au e!’. Mamae explained that ‘Te aka’ meant Akaina. Ngauta listened to the song and commented: ‘It is not the tribe of Aka’ (‘Aore e matakeinanga ia Aka’). Ngauta returned to Veitatei and expelled Arepe‘e and his dependants who climbed up to Kaeva where they cooked bananas on a fire. This fire became known as ‘the banana fire of Tepei’. After eating, Arepe‘e’s party fought at that spot. ‘Arepe‘e’s face’, in Mamae’s poetical phrase, ‘turned to the setting sun’ lamenting the crime.

In the story’s ending Mamae explained the fate of Ta‘aumārama. She carried sea water at Tuaati and was killed at Teikuere. Mamae quoted the song about Mataiti referred to at the beginning of the story. He closed exhorting Gill to translate the part of the song he had recorded.

An important supplement to the episode involving Nge‘enge‘e and Ta‘aumārama was provided in Mamae’s ‘ara mangaia’ manuscript:

> *I reira ua ngaa te kopu o ngauta, no Arepēe tai vaka, i puruki i Teikuere, tera te ara, e vaine na ngēēngēē o Taāumarama te ingoa, e tamaine na Arepēe, e tama a ngēēngēē na Ākāina, kare ra Arepēē i tiaki i tana tamaine, ua tuku ua ia kānga, oro atura ngēēngēē ia ngauta ra, ka 7 Rā o ngauta, o te au ïa i tangi te paū, ia Tereā te kai ia mangaia, e tangata no roto ia Teaāki*
>
> Then the family of Ngauta broke up, Arepe‘e led a tribe, (they) fought at Teikuere. This was the violation. Ta‘aumārama was the name of Nge‘enge‘e’s wife. She was a daughter of Arepe‘e. Nge‘enge‘e was the son of Akaina. Arepe‘e did not take care of his daughter, (he) simply fornicated (with her). Nge‘enge‘e ran to Ngauta.

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[26] ‘O ngā kōrēro a Teaaka e, mei tonga oki au e!’

> Ngauta held his seventh Sun-ship, he sounded the drum in this reign. Tereā of Te A‘aki had the *kai* for Mangaia.[27]

The second major text, entitled: ‘Te tuatua ia Arepee’ (‘The story of Arepe‘e’), is considerably shorter and focussed upon just one of the challenges to Ngauta’s governance.[28] Ngauta had planted a plot of yams which he came to inspect. He was pleased with their progress. One day he discovered that their buds and leaves had been bitten off. Angered by this act he wanted to find out the evil-doer.

He decided to prepare a large feast and accordingly fetched all the people under his reign. He instructed them to prepare the feast. The writer described the various foods which they obtained and heaped together: *poke*, *mamio* (a type of *taro*), coconuts, and bananas. The people then divided off. One party grated the *poke*, another lit the ovens, another brought back mullet. The fish was baked in banana leaves.

When the feast was brought together people ate. ‘The man’, as the writer described him, ‘in whom resided the *mangaia*’ watched them from the end of the feast. He observed a person abruptly turn away from the meal. The writer added an observation about the normal placement of food at a feast. Ngauta realised that this action involved his reign. The offender was Arepe‘e. The writer quoted a proverb about him: ‘The quickness of Arepe‘e’. The text here is slightly repetitive but emphasises Ngauta’s realisation that Arepe‘e had bitten the yam buds off and that these actions concerned his reign as *mangaia.* The writer terminated the story declaring that this was all he or she knew.

The part played by Akaina in the first story was elaborated on by Te Rangi Hiroa who was told the story by his two chief informants, Aiteina and Akaeakore.[29] In his published text Te Rangi Hiroa used the story as an example of the treatment of adultery when committed by a powerful chief. Akaina was described as Ngauta’s *toko*. His son Nge‘enge‘e, misspelt Ngoengoe in the published work, came to Akaina, who was on his deathbed, and told him that Ngauta was having sexual relations with the son's wife. Akaina wept. In the manuscript Te Rangi Hiroa explained that Akaina cried at the thought of his son being injured by the man whom he had supported in battle.

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[27] SSSP Newell 9, ‘Ara Mangaia’.

[28] **Mi 131, 132**, ‘Te Tuatua ia Arepee’.

[29] **MangS**, 154; **MP**, ‘Ngauta [and] Aka‘ina’.

Akaina instructed Nge'enge'e to restrain his grief until Ngauta had come to pay his respects to Akaina's corpse. At this time Nge'enge'e was to fall on the body and cry: 'Nga korero a te Akaea, mei Tonga oki au e'. Te Rangi Hiroa rendered this: 'Ah, the teaching of my father Akaina, I also am from Tonga'. The fullest explanation of the utterance was given in the manuscript. Akaea meant Aka'ina and Tonga the place where Nge'enge'e lived and where Ngauta 'had carried on with [Nge'enge'e's] wife'.

Ngauta heard the cry and after rubbing noses with the corpse pronounced 'Are e matakeinanga ia 'Aka', which Te Rangi Hiroa translated: 'So he is of the tribe of Akaina'. In his manuscript Te Rangi Hiroa explained that 'the exact signification' of the phrase could not be supplied by his informants. However, in the published text he imposed an authorial gloss, explaining that at a time when Ngauta was deeply stirred he had discovered that the husband of the woman he was having intercourse with was the son of Akaina. According to Te Rangi Hiroa, Ngauta was shamed before the dead and ceased his relationship with the woman.

As well as these prose accounts of Arepe'e's challenge and Ngauta's response, there are a number of references amongst the Mangaian songs which refer to the Tepei defeat and to the principal actors in these events.

Vaia Rongo puā akaneke atu ngauta ia Paia	Rongo splits apart Ngauta and Paia
Ua tae Rongo vāvāia,	Rongo achieves a split
...	
No Rongo tera autua	Rongo takes the victory
No Tongaiti tera auāro	Tonga'iti takes the lead
Ka aere Tepei i Teikuere	Tepei goes to Teikuere
Ka aere Tekuru i te opungā i te rā	Te Kuru goes to the setting of the sun
...	
Taumaa te uru i te tokotoko	Curse the hair on the *tokotoko* staff
Ei vaerua toa	(To become) warriors' spirits
Ei momotu i te mokotua o Tongaiti	To rent asunder the backbone of the Tonga'iti
...	
A Āranga oki Teipē i te ivi vāia ō,	Teipe will awake, the split tribe
E varu mata i te pāpuaka	Eight eyes on the platform
I kō ia'i i kiritia'i nga rakau e varu	There draw out the eight weapons
Te aoa mai na tai	The *aoa* tree by the sea
Na Tangiravakau	By Tangiravakau
...	

Ei kona oa Tirango e pā'i	There Tirango strikes
Aue te pāmoa ē,	Alas the ensnared birds
Era te mataati	There they flee
Ka peke i ia e Pāia teia kopu	This tribe is expelled O Paia [Arepe'e]
Teia vakanui taae.	This monstrously large tribe
...	
A kako e ngauta	O Ngauta surround (them)
A motu o Tepei	Sever Tepei
A motu e Paia	Sever O Paia [Arepe'e]
Era tumangamanga	Those divisions (of warriors).
...	
Kotia Tongaiti	Divide Tongaiti
Paria i te toki era mautoa	Hewn down by the warriors' *toki*
Kapiti Tangiia o Te Tuma raua	Tangiia and Tuma are joined
I pau ai te umu kōkā tei Āriki	They are consumed in the banana fire at Āriki
O nga toa, o nga maori	The warriors, the *Maori*
O nga taae, o nga taurekareka	The monsters, the scoundrels (?)
O Kaoa i te tuaranga i Teaupapa	Kaoa, at the back of Teaupapa,
A para taana kako	His *kako* (?) is turned to dust
A tangi taana rakau	His weapon weeps.
Kō ïa'tu taeia mai	Who is it who arrives here?
Naai i karanga'tu ē e taporo?	Who is it who calls? Put (it) away.
Ua pā ē; ua pau ua; o nga toe	(It) strikes. Some remnants are completely extinguished.
O nga toe i ora.	Some remnants survive.
Era a paō te puruki!	Those mourn the fight!
Ua pau te aō e ngauta	The forcible seizure is finished O Ngauta.[30]

The Tepei survivors of the battle were portrayed in another song as birds seeking a wild spot for a home: 'Na uta, na tai, akaea Tepei manua' ('Tepei, like a bird, flits inland and seawards').[31] Another song specifically referred to Arepe'e:

Mau taki tai ua i te Araā	Each take up an *ara'a* club
Ei tau tipitipi na Arepee	To decapitate as Arepe'e (did)
I te tāei ā tīti e.	(Or) catch a *titi.*[32]

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[30] SSSP Newell 9, 'Eva na Teinaakia no te Mate ia Tuaopapa; **G 45**, no title, first line: 'Ka ano au a motu i tau ivi ...'; **DL**, 97--98. Paia is translated by Gill as Arepe'e. Presumably it was an alternative name for this chief. There are a number of versions of this song. See Appendix D for further discussion. The Mangaian text accords with the majority opinion amongst them. Major textual differences: l. 11 reads: 'E varu ata i te patiakā'; l. 13--14: 'Te aoa mai na tangi rakau na tangi ravakau'; l. 15: 'Ei kona rā ...'; l. 21: 'A motu o Paia'. The song text from 'Kotia Tongaiti' onwards was not published by WWG. His version of the Mangaian with a translation is reproduced in Appendix D along with all the Mangaian variants.

[31] **G 44**; **DL**, 122 and fn. 2. Gill translated the line: 'Teipe is as a defenceless bird, flying hither and thither'. The **G 44** translation reads: 'The tribe of Tepei is a 'homeless' bird flying hither [and] thither'; 'homeless' is a scribal addition.

[32] **G 45**, 'E Eke, no Ata raua o Tukua'; **DL**, 305--307. The line divisions follow Gill. The translation is partly adapted from Gill. In a footnote, ibid, 307 fn. 1, Gill explained that the *titi* could be easily caught by hand when a hunter imitated its cry. Presumably the present reference alluded to the similar ease with which an enemy could be captured. Savage, 389, noted that the *titi* was a black-feathered marine bird inhabiting hilly country.

Akaina appears in two song poems and a genealogy.[33] He had remained an important Tonga'iti leader after Ngauta's death and the subsequent loss of the *mangaia* to the Ngāriki. Some time after their defeat the Tonga'iti and its subtribes began plotting to regain the *'au*; however, their plans were revealed to the victors by Tia. The Ngāriki at first wanted to wipe the Tonga'iti out but being advised against this course by their *pi'a atua* they chose to exile the conspirators instead. Akaina and Pati commanded one of the two canoes which sailed away from Mangaia. Their vessel disappears from the historical record, perhaps sinking in the depths of the Pacific. However the other canoe, commanded by Iro and Tuavera, reached Rarotonga. Descendants continue to live around Titikaveka.[34] Two songs about Iro's exile refer to Akaina:

Tuku atu tei te moana e Iro	O Iro, (you are being) sent away upon the ocean
Tei a Pati te vaka tuavera	The canoe of Tuavera is with Pati
Ko akaina te ra e torikiriki tatou e	Akaina, our sun is gradually disappearing.[35]

Ka tere te vaka ra	The canoe sails
E ua paruparu	Discoloured rain
E ua paruparu	Discoloured rain
Vavaia i te tua takere	The keel is splitting
I te tua tea	Upon the foam crested waves
Ia tere i te tai	Sailing on the sea
Ia tere i te tai	Sailing on the sea
Tamangaro paa	Tamangaro
O Pati Tuavera	Pati, Tuavera,
Ko Akaina	Akaina
I to ratou pokinga e	In their shelters
Ua kopara te matangi	The wind is changing (?)
Te Tipi te ae ae moana e	Te Tipi, the ocean rages.[36]

All the texts agree on the steps Arepe'e took to gain the *mangaia*. However, the two Mangaian texts built up the detail of these events and emphasised Ngauta's emotional reactions to Arepe'e's destruction. The Mangaian authors also told much about the

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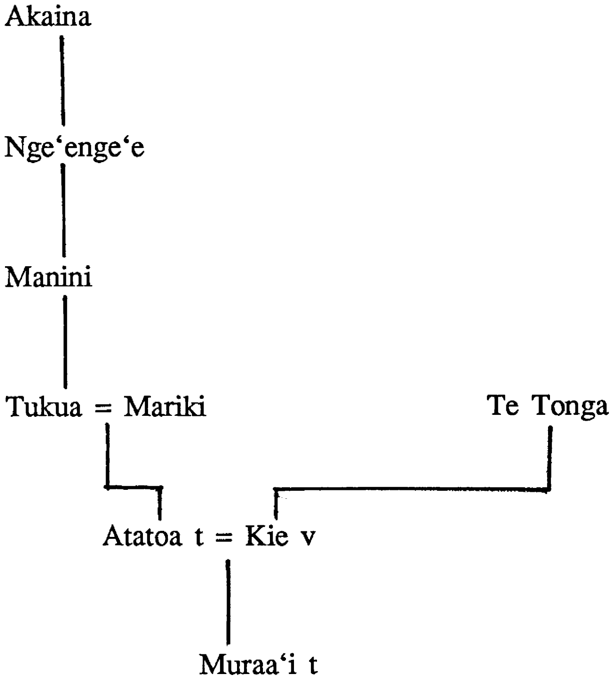
[33] See Figure 16 for a genealogy of Akaina.

[34] **DL**, 131--36; **MangS**, 53. The events surrounding the Tonga'iti defeat and Iro's exile are briefly mentioned in SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'. No reference is made to Akaina's role.

[35] **G** 45, 'Pee no Iro'; **G** 44; **DL**, 134. The Mangaian text is based on the MS and **DL** readings. The translation is partly adapted from Gill.

[36] **G** 45, second 'Pee no Iro', *unuunu* [verse] two. This song was not published by Gill probably because its content is similar to the previous 'Pee no Iro'. The meaning for 'kopara' ('changing') in the penultimate line is conjectured.

Figure 16: Genealogy of Akaina[37]



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[37] Gunson MS, Genealogy recorded from the late *kavana* of Kei'a, Kiteitekata Ata, 6 August 1985. In this case Akaina's Tonga'iti allegiances were later eclipsed by Ngāriki and Ngāti Tāne connections through Manini and Kie.

methods adopted by a *mangaia* under threat. Ngauta carefully planned the feast, an apparently innocuous occasion, in order to discover the culprit without arousing any alarm or preemptive military action against himself. Nor did he reveal his intentions or his discovery to anyone else. This last course of action was doubtless in part prompted by the identity of the culprit. A lesser man than Arepe‘e would have been surreptitiously despatched. The calculation of risk to Ngauta's political position if he adopted such a course with Arepe‘e was vastly more complicated.

The feast was also remembered, at least in part, for apt turns of phrase: ‘Do not eat like Arepe‘e’, or ‘The quickness of Arepe‘e’, which were clearly used by succeeding generations to refer to someone who was considered to be eating in a graceless or unsociable manner. The concentration of the shorter Mangaian text upon this one incident further suggests that the feast was by far the commonest known part of the Arepe‘e story. In both Mangaian texts the reader is also given much ethnographic information about the organisation of a feast: the division of work, the kinds of food, the feasting arrangements and the manner in which it was consumed.

The Mangaian writers, especially Mamae, dealt with the fouling of Ngauta's water more frankly and in a lot more detail than Gill. Again Ngauta chose to say nothing although judging from Mamae's comments he may have begun planning some action. Mamae also elaborated upon Arepe‘e's sexual challenge to Akaina, his son and Ngauta. Gill had only alluded to the woman involved, Ta‘aumārama, as ‘the real author of their troubles’. The *mangaia* finally decided to act against Arepe‘e. A temporal ruler could only tolerate so much testing, even from an ally, before he had to act to maintain his position or face the loss of his *mana.*

Te Rangi Hiroa interpreted Akaina's complaint about Arepe‘e's behaviour with Ta‘aumārama differently from other authors. He believed that the injury to Nge‘enge‘e had resulted from Ngauta having illicit intercourse. Te Rangi Hiroa did not identify the woman nor did he associate this action with Arepe‘e's attempt against Ngauta. The cause for Te Rangi Hiroa's difference of interpretation must lie with his informants. When it is recalled that Aiteina was Mamae's son, the differences become significant. The shift by Te Rangi Hiroa's informants can be interpreted as the avoidance of an unpalatable fact.

What remained unchanged between the different texts was the form of Akaina's instructions and the speeches by Nge'enge'e and Ngauta. However they differed over the context. Mamae understood this segment of the story to mean that Akaina's people could not participate in any action against Arepe'e because of their genealogical connections, both being linked to Tepei. Ngauta in this version accepted the argument and subsequently drove Arepe'e out on his own volition. Te Rangi Hiroa's remark that Akaina was Ngauta's *toko* makes the need for Akaina's elaborate excuse much more understandable. The speech by Nge'enge'e was meant as a graceful way of declining involvement in the *mangaia*'s forthcoming fight. That Ngauta accepted the reason emphasises the degree of independence supporting chiefs could retain.

Te Rangi Hiroa's reading of Akaina's instructions and Nge'enge'e's speech is quite different. His gloss of the 'teaching of Akaina' was in line with Mamae's explanation. However his understanding of Ngauta's reply was not. He did not seem to attach any importance to the fact that neither of his informants could explain the phrase. Instead, he allowed himself full licence to interpret the line in the light of his own understanding of the incident, as relating to Ngauta's intercourse with Nge'enge'e's unnamed wife.

The texts of Arepe'e's attempt upon Ngauta's *mangaia* reveal the differences each author attached to the incident. Gill used it simply as an historical overture to a romantic tragedy. The facts were dealt with in a summary fashion. Ngauta never became the subject of any of Gill's historical narratives, being mentioned only in passing.[38] Even where he was mentioned more consistently he was a shadowy figure in the background.[39]

The Mangaian writers such as Mamae spent much more time telling Ngauta's story, especially the Arepe'e incident. The prominence of this narration may have been due to the use of an apt phrase about eating manners. Mamae made particular efforts to explicate his text. The story was structured around three subdivisions comprising Arepe‘e's successive crimes. Mamae also provided a lot of detail in order to create a clearer picture of what was happening. Since the text, like all his work, appears to have been intended for Gill it is possible that the missionary encouraged this kind of detailed writing from his informants. This would explain the anonymous Mangaian's excuse that he or she only knew the part of the story which he or she had provided. In contrast Te Rangi Hiroa told quite a different story. If some of his changes could be ascribed to his informants he nevertheless extended their interpretation of the events with his published authorial glosses.

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[38] E.g. **DL**, 80, 86, 107, 130; **Life**, 353.

[39] **DL**, chapter xii.

TWELVE

THE CHALLENGE OF NGĀTI VARA

A better known attempt to wrest the power of the *mangaia* away from the incumbent was mounted by the Ngāti Vara, the tribe of the *pi'a atua* Mautara. Unlike Arepe'e the *pi'a* was successful in his endeavours. Whereas Ngauta and the Tonga'iti hegemony is today not significant Mautara's actions marked the beginning of what Gill called 'the modern history of Mangaia' since the ancestors of all the principal families on the island came under Mautara's protection at some point in their lives.[1]

The Ngāti Vara's rise to the position of political dominance occurred during the early eighteenth century of the European calendar. They defended this position almost to the time of Christianity's arrival through astute genealogical connections, inspired military manoeuvres, and the cunning use of their priestly status. When coupled with their early hostility to the changes wrought by the new religion the tribe's initial seizure of the *mangaia* takes on greater significance for the modern history of the island.

The Ngāti Vara (also called Te 'Āmama, or less usually, Ngāti Mautara) emerged from the family of the *pi'a atua* of Motoro, the *atua* of the Ngāriki tribe. This deity ranked only below Rongo in importance. The origins of the tribe are the subject of differing opinions.[2]

All the sources agree that the tribal *genitor* was Papaaunuku. Gill, who was presumably relying on information from the former *pi'a atua* Tereavai, believed that Papaaunuku initially spoke for Tāne-papa-kai, his father.[3] However, Rangi found Tāne unsatisfactory as a god because he did not speak in a frenzy, in other words, he was not

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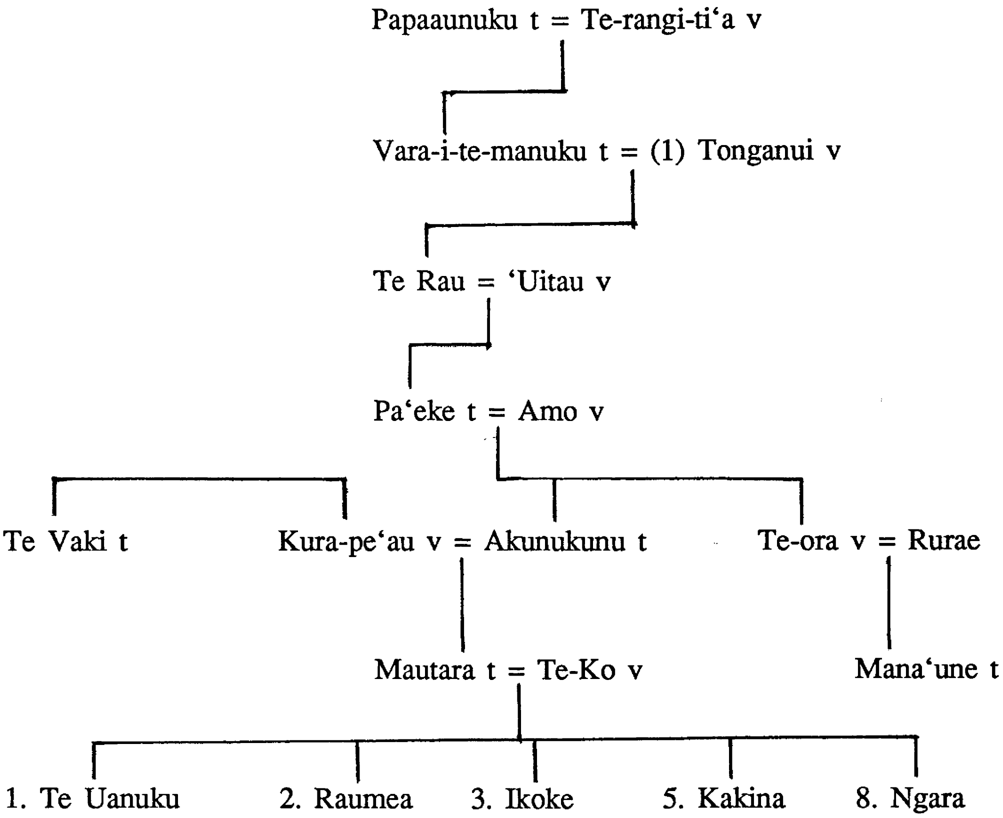
[1] Ibid., 160.

[2] See Figure 17 for a genealogy of the Ngāti Vara priestly family.

[3] The following information is taken from M&S, 19, 25--27.

Figure 17: Genealogy of Ngāti Vara[4]



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[4] B, 'Ngati Vara Tribe', Te Uanuku 1, Raumea 2, Ikoke 1, 6. The numbers before the sons of Mautara indicate their birth order.

inspired. Instead Rangi obtained the services of Motoro from Rarotonga, who set out for Mangaia with his brothers, Ruanuku and Kereteki. Another brother Utākea set out a little later. Kereteki and Utākea later became *atua* on Mangaia. During the voyage Motoro was slain by his elder brothers Ruanuku and Kereteki. However his spirit, floating on an *'au* (hibiscus) leaf, landed on the island. This spirit possessed Papaaunuku and compelled him to speak oracularly in a frenzied state. This was the origin of the tribe's true designation: Te 'Āmama, referring to the open mouth of Papaaunuku during his possession by the *atua*.[5] Rangi, pleased with this performance, recognised Motoro as his deity and Papaaunuku as his priest.

Mamae gave a couple of interpretations of Papaaunuku's origins. First, that Papaaunuku had come up from 'Avaiki, though his parentage was not known.[6] Second, that Papaaunuku, or Ruanuku as he was also called, was the child of Tangaroa and Taka.[7]

Mamae's two versions may have resulted from him later discovering additional information concerning the parentage. Alternatively, political considerations may have been at work. Mamae may have claimed, at first, not to know Papaaunuku's origins in order to avoid injuring the sensitivites of other tribes, in particular the Ngāriki, from whom Numangatini, the dominant political leader of the mid-nineteenth century descended.[8] Mamae's claim to descend from Tangaroa may also have been an attempt to establish a grander origin for the Ngāti Vara who had been defeated in their attempts to regain the *'au.*

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[5] Ibid., 27. More detailed explanations of the possession and the name Te 'Āmama are in the unpublished part of **B**, and in **M**. The published histories of Mangaia spell this tribal name Te Amama. However the reference to Papaaunuku's gaping mouth suggests it should be written Te 'Āmama. In Tuamotuan *hāmama* = 'To yawn, gape; as a mouth or wound'. Stimson with Marshall, 115. In Tahitian *hamama* = to yawn or gape. Edmund Andrews and Irene D. Andrews, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Tahitian Language*, Special Publication Number Six, The Chicago Academy of Sciences (Chicago, 1944), 56. In New Zealand Maori *hāmama* = open, gaping. Herbert W. Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 33. Similar terms exist in Paumotan and Hawaiian. Edward Tregear, *The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (Wellington, N.Z., 1891; reprint ed. Oosterhout N.B., The Netherlands, 1969), 44. There are however authorities which contradict such a reading. In Mangarevan *amama* = yawn, gape; make a grimace by opening the mouth; ajar. Edward Tregear, *A Dictionary of Mangareva (or Gambier Islands)* (Wellington, N.Z., 1899), 7. The evidence from the Cook Islands is mixed. Savage recorded *āmama* = 'to yawn, to open the mouth'. Savage, 24. Mamae, in his writings, usually spelt the tribal name Āmāmā. Given the idiosyncratic use of the macron in nineteenth century Cook Islands texts to mark both long vowels and glottal stops I have based my rendering of the tribal name upon the majority opinion amongst the Polynesian linguistic authorities mentioned above.

[6] 'Kare ua i kitea tona metua tane e tona metua vaine'. **MangS**, 20; **B**.

[7] 'Ko Papaaunuku, i tuatuaia e, e tamaiti na Tangaroa; ko Taka te metua vaine' ('It is said of Papaaunuku that he was a child of Tangaroa; Taka was the mother'.) **M**.

The priestly Te 'Āmama had early on been considered a threat to the Ngāriki hegemony. Papaaunuku's son, Vara, had fathered a number of children which apparently prompted concern on the part of the other tribes about Vara's future intentions. As a result, Ngāriki, Ngāti Tangiia and Tonga'iti, acting in alliance, slew all the priestly family save for Vara and his eldest son Te Rau who was spared to succeed his father as the next *pi'a.*[9]

The power relationship between the Ngāriki and their priest continued to be an ambivalent one. The later *pi'a* Mautara or Rongo-i-mua served as an adviser to the tribe during the Ngāriki's later domination by the Tonga'iti. Acting as Motoro's mouthpiece he instructed the Ngāriki on the means to overthrow Ngauta's *'au.*[10] He continued to hold an important place once the Ngāriki regained the *mangaia.*[11] Nevertheless, his relationship with the tribe experienced considerable tensions. During the Ngāriki rule the chiefs gave as their food offering to the *pi'a atua* the head of the priest of Tāne. This was, in Gill's phrasing, 'a studied insult', since Mautara himself worshipped the god Tāne. As a consequence Mautara, acting oracularly, required in the name of Motoro, that the Ngāriki kill and consume their own first-born; an act which they had to carry out.[12]

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[8] The issue of tribal sensitivity continues to be a real one. Members of the dominant tribes still complain about inaccuracies in the writings of Te Rangi Hiroa caused by his Ngāti Vara informants. Cook Islands Notebook No. 1, Pōkino Aperahama; Donald Marshall, 35--36.

[9] **MangS**, 57--58; **B**; **M**.

[10] **DL**, 106--107.

[11] E.g. ibid., 112, 116, 132.

[12] Ibid., 68--69, 313.

The Ngāriki chiefs may already have been uneasy about their priest's intentions. However, they did not assist their cause when at a subsequent battle the tribe split into mutually warring factions. Gill believed this event opened the way to Mautara's bid for power.[13] Other factors included Mautara's ability to father several able warriors and to provide shelter to important relatives and allies such as the *pi'a atua* Te Vaki and the later *toa* Mana'une.[14]

Mautara was not, however, always able to gain his desired ends. On one occasion he attempted to protect two Tepei refugees, Vivi and Tito, to whom he was distantly related, but they were hunted down by the Ngāriki *pava* Tamangoru, who also slew one of Mautara's younger sons, Kakakina (or Kakina). He had been sent to help the Tepei survivors.[15]

The hegemony of Ngāti Vara began when Te Uanuku, Mautara's oldest son, killed the *mangaia* Akatara, of Tepei, at a feast. Gill gave a detailed version of this incident. The following is a summary of his account. Gill textually positioned the killing of Akatara after his retelling of an attempt by the *mangaia* to wipe out Mautara's family. Doubtless Akatara, who had beaten Te 'Akatauira, feared a new threat from Ngāti Vara.

Akatara was invited to a feast by Mautara who had organised fugitives from past battles to wait in ambush. Their leader was Tokoau, cousin of Mautara and later his 'associate' [*toko*]. The feast was organized at Tapatiu in the Kei'a district. Gill inserted an amount of detail on the preparations for the event, in particular, how weapons were hidden beneath the food.

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[13] Ibid., 137--38. The event and its effects upon Ngāriki are referred to in SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[14] The account of the Ngāti Vara progress and their setbacks to the time of Mautara is retold in **MangS**, 57--60 where Te Rangi Hiroa extensively quotes from the Bishop typescript. Additional unpublished material can be found in **B**. A less complete account is given in **M**. The song quoted in **MangS**, 60, is given in a more complete form in **G 45**, 'Matamori', first line: 'Kai mangaia o Teaio'.

[15] **DL**, 116--18.

Akatara's chiefs arrived in procession each carrying large fans, 'in token', as Gill put it, 'of profound peace'. The feast-givers were busy preparing *poke.* Following customary practice each visitor sat opposite a host and grated raw *taro* for the *poke* on madrepore coral. Raumea wished to save a visitor and sat beside him; he undertook to pick the lice out of the visitor's hair. Gill added an observation about the length of an ancient Polynesian's hair and their lack of combs.

Akatara's arrival was announced. He came alone and some time after the other chiefs to indicate his rank. He had already received a warning about the occasion from his relative Tuakura but chose to ignore it saying, 'Was not the island in a state of peace?' Te Uanuku got up to greet him saying to those by him, 'Era te pipi ra e mou', which Gill translated, 'Let each seize a mussel-shell'. Te Uanuku greeted Akatara saying, 'Ah, brother-in-law, how well your new dignity suits you!' They pressed noses in greeting.[16] Te Uanuku grasped Akatara by his hair, an action each host emulated on his visiting neighbour. Raumea grabbed one victim and pinned him down under his thigh. When he saw that the visitor whom he wished to save was about to grab a spear he also grabbed him by the hair and ground them both to death on the earth. The other visitors were similarly slain by the hosts and the 'King' [*ariki*] Kanune who, like Raumea, was a very strong warrior.

The whole of Akatara's party was killed with one exception. The survivor fled loudly lamenting the fate of his friends. Tuakura called out to him, 'May your ears be cooked! Did I not forewarn you all?' In a footnote Gill noted this was a form of 'native curse'. The feast was not eaten because it was bespattered with the guests' blood.[17]

Mamae also narrated a version of these events. The first part of the text provides a Mangaian 'under-texture' for Gill's story relating Akatara's failed attempt to wipe out Ngāti Vara which had prompted Te 'Āmama to plan the *mangaia*'s demise.[18]

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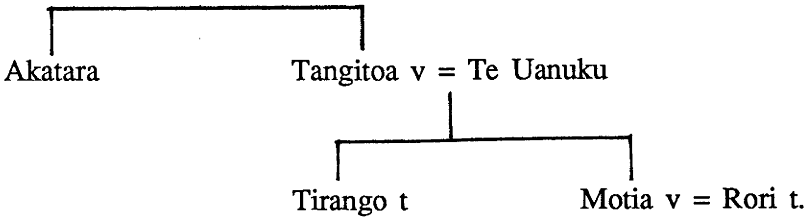
[16] See Figure 18 for the genealogical relationship between Akatara and Te Uanuku.

[17] DL, 164-166.

[18] Ibid., 161--64.

Figure 18: Genealogy of Akatara and Te Uanuku[19]



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[19] See **B**, Te Uanuku 1 for Te Uanuku's descendants.

E miringao, ua tupu te tamaki na Akatara e tā ia ngangati, mate iora aia i Āuā, i te tāia e te kopu o Tepēi, ia Akatara te au, E tae akera i tetai tuatau, ua tupu tetai Takurua, e Taperu kai na Akatara raua o Āro, e tā ia Raumea raua o Teuanuku, ua aere maira tetai vaine o Kārua te ingoa, e akakite ia Raumea ē tei kō to tamaki e tā ia au, Tāpārau maki iora a Raumea. Kare atura i tae, ua ora atura aia, E tae akera i tetai tuatau, ua tupu akaou tetai Taperu kai na Raumea raua o Teuanuku, e tā ia Akatara, ua aere maira Akatara e tona vaka tangata e kai i taua Takurua ra, mate iora ratou i te tāia e Raumea raua o Teuanuku, ora atura tetai tangata o tai, o mururai te ingoa, oro atura e tae atura i Tavaenga, ua akakite ia Tūakura ē, ua pau ua te kēre i Tāpātiu, o te vaka ïa o Akatara, ua reviri atura a Tuākurā i nga toe, aere atura i Ivirua, āpare atura i roto i tetai rua o Teānaokākāia te ingoa, noo atura i reira.

Later on a war developed. Akatara slew Ngangati. He died at Aua. He was slain by the Tepei. Akatara had the *'au*. The time came for a feast to be given. It was organised by Akatara and Aro in order to kill Raumea and Te Uanuku. A woman called Kārua went and told Raumea: 'There is your fight, I shall be killed'. Raumea became sickly-looking. (He) did not arrive and he survived. The time came when another feast was held by Raumea and Te Uanuku to kill Akatara. Akatara and his tribe went to eat at that feast. They were slain by Raumea and Te Uanuku. One person called Mururai survived. (He) fled till Tavaenga. He told Tuākura, 'The *kere* [tribe ?] was entirely vanquished at Tapatiu'. That was Akatara's tribe. Tuākura gathered the remnants together and went to Ivirua, lamenting in a cave called Te Ana o Kākāia. (They) remained there.[20]

The historical significance of these events has ensured their continued retelling by modern *korero* from today's ruling tribes, Ngāti Mana'une and Ngāti Tāne. Tereevangeria Aratangi provided an account of the death of Akatara entitled: 'The battle between Te Uanuku and Akatara'.[21] The following rendering is a summary of her text.

In her opening Aratangi situated the story squarely in the past: 'This was a great battle that occured ... during the ancient days'. She emphasised the horror of the battle linking it to the various conflicts fought at that time. The battle was identified especially with the task of grating *poke*.

Aratangi elaborated upon this food preparation technique describing how the ancestors used the *aravai* stone from the sea for the purpose. The significance of this practice for the battle was made plain: 'People were grated upon the grater'. She identified the tribes and chief contestants: Ngāriki and Ngāti 'Āmama; Te Uanuku and Akatara. She introduced a motif, interconnected with the image of grating, namely, that the battle was 'a show of physical strength'.

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[20] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[21] MK, 'Te Purukianga i rotopu ia Te Uanuku e Akatara'. The complete vernacular text of Aratangi's retelling with an annotated translation is given in Appendix C. Some of the following interpretations of the Mangaian were suggested by Papa Aratangi.

Aratangi situated the most important section of the story just prior to the grating of the *poke*, when Te Uanuku said, 'Ra-te-pipira-e-mau' ('There is the *pipi* (mussel shell), Grab!'). Everyone knew what to do and grabbed a visitor to grate upon the *aravai.* In her vivid retelling Aratangi slipped into the second person: 'You grab your man (and) grate (him) upon the grater'. No weapons were used in the fight; people were killed upon the grater.

The action of the massacre shifted to two other protagonists: Raumea and his brother-in-law, Kanune. Much of the remaining text related the rivalry between them. Raumea had by main force dragged two victims, one alive and the other dead. Kanune, observing that one of Raumea's victims was still alive, took two men and killed them simultaneously, grating them 'upon the grater'. He called out to Raumea, 'Kakaro ra e Rau ite ao ote uki' ('O Rau, look at the strength of the youth').

Aratangi returned to her principal motifs and interpolated them into the story at this point. She located the battle field at Tapatiu, in Kei'a. She emphasised again that the only weapons used were the grater and men's strength. These had made it a 'horrible battle', for, as Aratangi graphically put it, 'the bodies of men became like *taro* grated as *poke*'.

Aratangi returned to the story, describing Raumea's emotional reaction to Kanune's taunt; it became 'like a fishbone in the heart'. Raumea was ashamed. Aratangi took the account back in time to explain the reasons behind Kanune's damaging utterance. He himself had been constantly shamed by Raumea and Te Uanuku at mealtime when he and other adopted children of their father Mautara were reminded that they were a burden upon the tribe's food supplies, not having served in any of the battles. Kanune had remembered the taunts and at Tapatiu reminded them that he was able to fight because of the food he had eaten: 'Your baked *poke* is the site of this battle'.

The story moved after this historical explanation to its apotheosis. One Ngāriki man had survived the attack. He was Tauara. Ngāti ʻĀmama otherwise were victorious. Tauara fled for his life, delivering a formulaic pronouncement on the fate of his comrades, 'The *kere* [tribe ?] has been utterly vanquished at Tapatiu'.[22] He addressed this to Tuokura, a *pi'a atua* at Taopapa, but was cursed for his trouble: 'Cook your ears in the fire, you were told not to go'. Tauara ran on to Ruakeretonga and repeated his doleful tidings to Paia, another *pi'a atua*, only to be cursed again: 'Cook your ears in the fire'. He reached Ivirua and took refuge in the *makatea* telling everyone of the battle and repeating his formula.

Aratangi abruptly terminated the story reminding her auditor that he or she ought to recall the special meal given to a *korero*, the *a'i kavere*, if the recorder desired another story.

Te Rangi Hiroa provided additional information about the massacre and about the Raumea-Kanune dialogue. Te Rangi Hiroa relied upon Gill's text, with one or two small additions, which he presumably obtained from his own informants. When Akatara approached the feast Te Uanuku cried out, 'Ua ta'ata'a rava koe e tao i to mangaia' (TeRH: 'You are putting on overmuch style, O, Brother-in-law, with your rank').[23] In his published work Te Rangi Hiroa interpolated information on the Raumea-Kanune conflict which is dealt with in more detail in his manuscripts.

Mautara, acting as the mouthpiece for Motoro, had instructed his sons to raise Kanune to the position of *ariki pa tai* so that he might undertake the ceremonies to inaugurate Te Uanuku's reign as *mangaia.* At the battle of Tapatiu Raumea had momentarily spared his victims by putting them under his thighs. Kanune who saw this had killed his two victims. He threw them before Raumea saying: 'Karo ra e Rau e i te a'o o te uki' ('Look O Raumea at what a sound wind a still young man has done'). Raumea realised that Kanune referred to his failure to immediately slay his victims. He foresaw problems in the future and decided upon a course of action. He sent a younger brother to eat Kanune's food. When the *ariki* illtreated the boy Raumea came and killed Kanune. Mautara was angered by this but Raumea only replied: 'No akateitei i runga i a'au' ('He was elevating himself above me').[24]

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[22] 'Ua pau oa te kere i tapatiu'.

[23] **MangS**, 55--56.

Gill's only apparent comment on this conflict was to confirm in a brief note that Raumea had killed Kanune. This was incorporated into his list of the *ariki pa tai*.[25] The conflict was not the subject of any narrative in his works.

The three narrations of Te Uanuku's seizure of Akatara's *mangaia* told by Gill, Mamae and Aratangi share a number of story segments in common: the feast, the deaths of the visitors and the fleeing survivor. Gill and Aratangi are able to deploy additional segments in their longer stories such as the grating of *poke*, Te Uanuku's reference to the mussel shell, the role of Raumea and Kanune and the curses that were heaped upon the survivor. Despite the many years which separate the dates of composition for the narratives by Mamae and Aratangi they duplicate the same formulaic utterance by the battle's survivor. However, the two Mangaian texts differ in their identification of the survivor: Mamae calls him Mururai; Aratangi identifies the man as Tauara.

Unlike Mamae's concise recounting Gill and Aratangi attempt to colour their narratives, eliciting distinctive readings from the same incidents. Gill stressed the motif of subterfuge, in particular, the intentional use of a feast as a means to murder guests. Aratangi viewed it very much as one of Mangaia's ancient battles. Gill emphasised an uncivilised quality: the lice, the long hair, the lack of combs, the blood-bespattered feast. In contrast, Aratangi stressed the horror of the entire event, deploying several interconnected motifs to heighten a sense of the story's significance: the lack of fighting weapons, the use of graters to kill people and the displays of masculine strength.

Both these versions gave differing weight to the role played by Te Uanuku's younger brother Raumea. Gill told how Raumea prevented Akatara from killing the Ngāti Vara.

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[24] MP, '8. The Lord of Mangaia. The Significance of the Drum [of Peace]'.

[25] DL, 317.

However Raumea is not prominent in Te Uanuku's slaying of the *mangaia.* Such a reading appears to be in line with Mamae's own understanding of Raumea's place in the events, though given the nature of his text it is not easy to tell whether this results from textual concision or authorial intention. In contrast Aratangi focussed her story upon the conflict between Raumea and, as she alleges, one of Mautara's adopted sons, and sons-in-law, Kanune; an event only barely acknowledged by Gill in his writings and not at all by Mamae. Te Uanuku, after his instruction to seize the mussel shell, virtually disappears from Aratangi's text. The tensions between the senior sons and the children who were adopted or married in became very obvious.[26] Aratangi's emphasis on Kanune's familial links to Ngāti Vara went further than most other sources. She appears to have transferred the in-law relationship from Akatara and Te Uanuku to Raumea and Kanune. Nevertheless, her text underscored the alliance that existed between the emergent Ngāti Vara and Kanune which Gill and Te Rangi Hiroa also acknowledged.

Te Rangi Hiroa's reading of the Raumea-Kanune conflict differed markedly in emphasis from Aratangi's. Whereas Aratangi interpreted it as an intra-familial dispute Te Rangi Hiroa viewed it more as a political event. He stressed the political considerations behind Mautara's nomination of Kanune as *ariki pa tai* and the repercussions for the *ariki* of his taunting Raumea. The *pi'a atua* of Motoro, at least when Mautara was the incumbent, and during his possession by the god, clearly was very influential since the selection of the collective *ariki* was ordinarily in the gift of the *mangaia.* The *ariki* were always vulnerable to assault from other chiefs when acting outside their *tapu* role as spiritual rulers.[27] Mautara's anger at Raumea probably stemmed not so much from concern at the death of the *ariki* as from the loss of an ally.

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[26] Another example of this sort of tension is the case of Mautara's adoption of his nephew, Mana'une, which Te Uanuku and Raumea opposed. E.g. **DL**, 196; **MangS**, 61.

[27] E.g. **MangS**, 113--14.

The story Gill and Aratangi retell about Ngāti Vara's killing of Akatara exaggerates the losses suffered by the Ngāriki side at this massacre. No *mangaia* was declared.[28] Further battles had to be fought before the Ngāriki and its allies could be said not to pose a threat to Ngāti Vara's immediate control of the *'au.*[29]

Gill and Aratangi, perhaps in their effort to achieve a dramatically convincing narrative, also obscured the full historical significance of the event being told. Both texts identified Akatara as the leader, or *toa*, of Ngāriki opposed to the up-and-coming Ngāti Vara. According to Gill, Akatara's successsor, Ruanae, led the Ngāriki at the subsequent battles of Arerā (or Arirā) and Pukuotoi.[30] Neither account makes it plain that the two leaders were in fact members of Tepei, a subtribe of Tonga'iti. In Gill's case this was simply authorial oversight as Mamae made Akatara's affiliation plain in his version.[31] Gill elsewhere in his published writings did correctly notice Akatara's tribe.[32] This oversight by Gill has led a recent scholar to assume, based upon the published sources, that Akatara and Ruanae were Ngāriki.[33] The oversight has, as a consequence, led both Gill and Aratangi to represent the killing of Akatara as simply a conflict between the Ngāriki and Ngāti Vara. Gill strengthened this impression by the way he played upon Mautara appearing at Arerā armed only with his fan since, as the *pi'a atua* of Motoro, the 'doomed clan of Ngāriki' could not kill him. As Gill observed, 'to get rid of him the hand of some unscrupulous atheist must be employed'.[34]

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[28] **Mi 131, 132,** List of Battles by Mamae.

[29] See **MangS**, 55--57, for a narrative of these events.

[30] **DL**, 167, 196--97.

[31] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[32] **DL**, 230.

[33] Papa Aratangi mistakenly identified the 'tribe of Ruanae' as Ngāriki. 'Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society', 51.

[34] **DL**, 167.

The contrast in the way the various authors represented the historical events of this period is highlighted in the narratives referring to this battle at Arerā which followed fairly soon after the killing of Akatara. Mamae recorded in his Mormon manuscript: 'Na Teuanuku i puruki. Ko nga kopu o Tuokura e Teipe tei apai tamaki mai' ('Te Uanuku fought. The tribes of Tuokura and Teipe brought the war').[35] In his 'List' Mamae wrote that Tuākura was defeated.[36] The 'ara mangaia' text gives some additional details:

> *E tae akera i tetai tuatau, ua puruki i Ārerā, no Tuākura tai vaka, no Raumea ma tai vaka, ua riro mai te au i te kopu o te Āmāmā, ia Teuanuku te au*
>
> Another time came, (they) fought at Arerā. Tuākura led one tribe, and Raumea another. The *'au* went to the family of Te 'Āmama, Te Uanuku held the *'au*.[37]

Interestingly Raumea led the fight, suggesting that he was the dominant military leader. This echoes the stress laid on Raumea by Aratangi's narration of Akatara's killing.

In contrast to the prose narrative which interpreted Arerā as a conflict between the Ngāriki and Ngāti Vara Gill's own list of battles is much more in accord with Mamae's list. Gill recorded the defeated tribe as 'Tuōkura and Teipe'. Ruanae fled to the rocks, only coming to the fore in the following battle at Pukuotoi where he led the defeated side.[38] It would seem that Tuākura and Tuokura were the same man. On the basis of Gill's listing of Mangaian battles Te Rangi Hiroa thought that two tribes were represented, Tuokura and Tepei. He assumed the Tuokura was a section of Ngāriki who provided the main forces with some Tepei also present.[39]

The evidence from these alternative texts when read with Mamae's 'ara mangaia' narrative and the stories by Gill and Aratangi suggests a new reading of the conflict between Akatara and Ngāti Vara. Akatara, a Tepei, had already slain his uncle Ngangati, of the 'Akatauira subtribe of Ngāriki.[40] Akatara attempted to kill the principal leaders of Ngāti Vara but was unsuccessful. Mautara combined with the *ariki pa tai*, Kanune, who was from Ngangati's subtribe and doubtless keen to avenge the death. Tuakura (i.e. Tuokura) who was most likely from Ngāriki realised something was afoot and sought to warn Akatara. After the slaughter he led the defeated side at Arerā. The appearance of Ngāriki on opposite sides was not uncommon since the tribe had split into mutually warring factions after an earlier battle at Māueue.[41] Tepei must have fought in a minor capacity at Arerā since Mautara was able to go unarmed. If Tepei had led the opposing force they would have had no compunction in killing him since he was not their tribal *pi'a atua*. After Ngāriki's defeat the Tepei under Ruanae continued to oppose the Ngāti Vara until defeated at Pukuotoi. Instead of the narrational oppositions between Ngāti Vara and Ngāriki, as suggested by Gill and Aratangi, this version of Akatara's killing emphasises the fluidity of tribal boundaries and the complexities of personal alliances.

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[35] M.

[36] 'Ua pau to Tuākura'. Mi 131, 132, List of Battles by Mamae.

[37] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[38] DL, 311.

[39] MangS, 56.

A song describes this signal destruction of Tepei's forces:

Ua pau te vaka o Ruanae	The tribe of Ruanae was extinguished
Ana mai nei ua tua tei atea	Lying upon their backs in the open space
Te viri nei i te ara e	Twisting upon the pathway
E vaio ia ngaere i reira e	Left as weeds there.
Tipoki te aro o Tuaiti	Tuaiti [Ruanae] was turned face downwards
Pakia io ia mau ei,	Struck down and caught
Ua riro te papa iaia	He became one with the earth
Akapautua i mama atu	Akapautua said
Oi mai koe ia piri e,	You stay close
Ia kapiti te mate	So that (we) may be joined in death
Ia vai reka raua katoa e,	So that (we) may remain peacefully together
...	
Tei vaitangi na tauka rokara anga	The strife took place at the Vaitangi stream
...	
Me ē te ē ia taua	Should we be mistaken
Me kite atu i te rangatira	Should (we) discover the chief (?)
Ka ati te ati i Tangaroa	(We) shall fly, the flight from Tangaroa.
...	
Tatari aere	(Ngako) waited for
I te vaka nei e	The tribe
...	
Ua kake i te maunga	(He) climbed the mountain

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[40] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'. DL, 145, Gill notes that Ngangati descended from Marere, an 'Akatauira.

[41] Ibid., 137--38.

Noo atu ra i reira	Staying there
Ua taumata aere	Watching for the (enemies') approach
...	
Te tara nei i tena atua	That priest says
E ui paa i te anu i te kouo	Climb the trees and pull off their fruit
...	
Kimi ia te ara ra e,	Seek the pathway
E marere ai e	Flee
...	
Ena tai atu i Te-one e	Shall it be by way of Teone by the sea
Ena Paerea na veivei tamaki	Shall it be by Paerea overlooking the battlefield
...	
Na veroinga i te io e	Seeking to live
Na okainga i te korero	It is hard to escape.[42]

A FEW YEARS after Te Uanuku attained the *mangaia* he was assassinated. The crisis is retold by Gill, Mamae and Aratangi. In Gill's version the killing occupies the first part of a chapter detailing the effects of this crisis for Mautara and the eventual consolidation of his power.

Rāei, described by Gill as a chief of secondary rank [a *kairanga nuku*], was playing quoits [*tupe*] and noticed Te Uanuku enter Rāei's hut at Rupetau. He heard the sound of his wife's cloth-beater stop. She later confessed 'her guilt', as Gill put it. Rāei plotted revenge against Te Uanuku whom Gill censoriously labelled 'the seducer'. Rāei could not himself kill Te Uanuku because both shared the same *atua*, Motoro.[43] Instead he enlisted the aid of Kikau and the Tonga'iti to murder Te Uanuku once the latter was off his guard. Gill noted that this was not deemed improper according to 'heathen morality'. Rāei then ritually defiled the sacred district of Kei'a by wearing a scarlet hibiscus flower in each ear, the same action that had caused the death of Tiaio (Te Aio). Mautara refrained from any action on learning the reasons for it. At length Rāei's anger, in Gill's terminology the 'just anger of the husband', appeared to cool; Te Uanuku returned to Ivirua but was killed at night by Kikau.

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[42] G 45, 'E Pee rai teia no runga rai ia Vaia'; DL, 181--83. The Mangaian text is based upon the MS and DL readings. The translation is derived from Gill in parts; however, he renders certain lines, e.g. ll. 2--3, quite differently: 'As the reef covered with dead fish/ Is the ground where they fought'. I have chosen different meanings for the same words which describe the awful carnage with alternative images. Gill preserved a description of this battlefield which echoes these song lines: 'In those days the slain were rarely buried, so that some had become mummy-like, dried up in the sun; others were reduced by the rats to skeletons. The fern had everywhere grown about the dead, ...'. DL, 184.

Gill noted in a MS annotation that Tuaiti = Ruanae, presumably an alternative name. Akapautua was another chief of Tepei. Gill described him as 'the chief next to Ruanae in point of dignity'. Ibid., 200. The MS for the lines 'Waiting for/ The tribe' notes that this refers to Ngako who was looking out for Mautara's forces. According to Gill, Ngako, a chief Tepei warrior, had been sent to scout before the battle. Ibid., 199. MS annotations explain that 'marere' = 'oro' (i.e. flee); 'veroinga' = 'kimi pakari kia ora', Gill translated the word 'Dare thy utmost to live'.

Raumea, described by Gill as 'a man of giant strength', had died some two years previously at the battle of Pukuotoi. Kikau gathered his forces from the north and encamped in Kei'a. He intended to defeat Mautara and gain the 'supreme chieftainship' [*mangaia*] for Rāei. A messenger warned Mautara of Kikau's arrival. He retrieved the body of Te Uanuku, hiding it on the hillside and sought to find recruits, being successful only at Veitatei, his ancestral home. Mautara had no sleep, wondering if he would cope with the enemy and avenge his first-born. Half of his 'extemporized army' were raw youths or women. Most warriors were ranged on the opposite side.

That same night a secret conference was held in Rāei's camp by three important chiefs and *pi'a atua*: Namu, Manini and Pārae. Gill emphasised the men's genealogical links and priestly roles. Gill reported their conversation:

> Said Manini to Namu, 'Whom should we pity?' Namu unhesitatingly replied, 'Our god [represented by his priest Mautara] alone deserves our pity'--words which afterwards became famous.[44]

Pārae was to tell Mautara secretly to eat hastily and attack Rāei's hungry army while the conspirators attacked the rear. Pārae did not visit. He ordered a feast to be prepared at Kei'a.

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[43] A Raei is listed in the Ngāti Vara genealogies as being married to Iramata, an aunt of Mautara; however, this would seem to make him too old to be the Raei who plotted Te Uanuku's assassination. B, 'Sisters of Akunukunu'.

[44] The bracketted note about Mautara was made by Gill in the original.

In the midst of its preparations Mautara's small army appeared and the warriors prepared for battle. Mautara approached a narrow causeway and was signalled by Pārae to take another path, allowing him to attack on better ground. Gill elaborated on the signal made. Namu, Manini and Pārae attacked from the rear, hemming their former comrades in between. Many were slaughtered including Rāei. Kikau was taken alive, and bound, presented to Mautara, who proceeded to cut Kikau's extremities, each time asking him, 'Why did you not spare our brother?' Kikau always replied, 'Kua ē ia Ra' ('I was misled by Rāei'). Gill noted that this had become a proverb. Finally Kikau's stomach was ripped out and his intestines entwined on the trees shading Mautara's dwelling.[45] Elsewhere Gill identified the tree as the Screw Pine, or Thatch tree (*Pandanus odoratissimus*). This tree was well adapted to disembowelling for, as Gill pointed out, 'the spiral arrangement of its sword-like leaves suggests the idea of an enormous screw'.[46]

Te Rangi Hiroa added a little to Gill's reported dialogue between the three plotters in Rāei's camp:

> Manini ... . Plotted with Namu, Parae, by asking, "Me tangi i a'ai?" ['Sympathise with whom?'] Namu replied, "E tangi i te atua ['Sympathise with the god']." Hence supported Mautara against Raei, Kikau and combined forces of Tongaiti [and] Ngariki.[47]

Mamae retold the assassination:

> *E miringao, ua mate a Teuanuku, ua tāia aia e Rāei, tera te ara, e vaine na Rāei ua kāngā ia e Teuanuku, mate atura aia i te tāia e Rāei,*
>
> *o Mautara te pia i ona mangaia[.]*[48]
>
> *Ia rongo mautara ē, ua mate Teuanuku, aere atura mautara e vaī iaia, ua ūūna i roto i te ngāngāere, i tāia oki aia i Ivirua, aere atura mautara, i na Tamarua aia i tona aerenga, ua koi aere i tetai tangata ei tārava i tona vaka, ua reviri to Rāei vaka i Ākaoro, ua noo to mautara i Āriki, ua tae mai tetai tangata no te vaka o Rāei, o Pārai te ingoa, ua tangi ia mautara, ua oti ana ta ratou tara o nāmu e manini, tera te tara, o mautara tei tangi, oia te akatu, o to ratou Atua o motoro, tei roto ia mautara, eia ratou te vaipoko i te vaka o Rāei, ua aere atura mautara e tona*

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[45] **DL**, 209-212.

[46] **Jottings**, 183. The article is entitled 'Screw pine, or Thatch-tree of Polynesia'.

[47] **B**, 'Scraps of Genealogy'. Te Rangi Hiroa retells Gill's account in his own words but without any significant change in **MangS**, 63.

[48] This phrase, in the original MS, is written on the same line as the previous sentence but separated from it by a number of spaces. I have marked this separation by indenting the phrase on another line.

> *vaka, ua puruki i Āua, ia mautara te au, e tangata no nunga i te puruki te akatangi i tona mangaia i te paū, o Teāa te ingoa, Ia pau te puruki, te vai ra i nunga i te kapūa a Teaā, ua aere atura mautara i Ivirua e tanu ia Teuanuku, a po tai i te vairanga, ua akatangi iora te paū i tona mangaia,-- o Teāo paku Teariki, e au roa, e 50 mataiti,--o Te au ia i tau ai Rori i uta. I mate ruaine a mautara, nana i tomata te mate i tona au, ia Ikoke i miri ia.*

> Later on, Te Uanuku died, he was slain by Rāei. The fault was thus: Te Uanuku had intercourse with the wives of Rāei. He was killed by Rāei.
>
> Mautara was the priest in (Te Uanuku's) reigns.
>
> When Mautara heard that Te Uanuku had died, (he) went and wrapped him up and hid (him) in the bushes. (Te Uanuku) was slain in Ivirua. Mautara went away travelling to Tamarua. (He) gathered together as he went some men to be crossbeams for his canoe. Rāei gathered his tribe at Akaoro. Mautara remained at Āriki. A person called Pārai from Rāei's tribe arrived. (Pārai) sympathised with Mautara. Namu, Manini and (Pārai) had been talking. This is what they discussed: (They should) sympathise with Mautara, he was the upright, their god Motoro resided within Mautara. They would turn against Rāei's tribe. Mautara and his tribe went and fought at Aua. Mautara had the *'au*. A person on the battle-(field) called Tea'a sounded his *mangaia* on the drum. When the battle was finished, the inaugural sacrifice of Tea'a was left off. Mautara went to Ivirua to bury Te Uanuku at night in a burial chamber. The drum was sounded for his *mangaia*. Te Aopaku was *ariki*. It was a long reign--fifty years. This was the *'au* in which Rori came to rest inland. Mautara died an old man, his *'au* was ended, Ikoke was anointed.[49]

According to Gill, Tea'a (or Teā), was 'laid upon the alter [*sic*] of Rongo', i.e. sacrificed, on the day of the battle. However Mautara delayed beating the drum, the sign of peace, until he had buried Te Uanuku.[50] Gill also implied in his text that Ikoke, the eldest surviving son, became prominent during Mautara's *'au*. In that case Mamae's brief allusion to Ikoke's anointing may refer to his selection as a successor.

Aratangi too deals in detail with the assassination of Te Uanuku. The following is a summary of her story.[51] Unlike her other texts this one begins with a list of the *dramatis personae*. Her opening is brief, identifying Te Uanuku as Mautara's first born son, and locating their residence in Veitatei.

One day Te Uanuku decided to go sightseeing. He got up in the morning and went to Kei'a where he called in at an entertainment house, called Puaimatareka, after he heard the women inside laughing and beating their cloth. Some young women were performing a provocative *mira* dance. Rāei, whose two wives were in the house, heard their beaters stop. Aratangi explained that husbands knew the particular sound of their wives' beaters. He realised it was Te Uanuku in the house since only warriors were admitted. He became angry and went to Ivirua to find a way to kill Te Uanuku. He obtained the help of his brother-in-law, Kikau.

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[49] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'.

[50] DL, 212.

[51] The complete vernacular text and an annotated translation can be found in Appendix C. Some of the following interpretations of the Mangaian were made by Papa Aratangi.

They decided to begin playing quoits on an arena belonging to Te Uanuku, called Kamū, in Ivirua. Te Uanuku heard of the game and, leaving the women, went to Ivirua to defeat Rāei. Aratangi emphasised the subterfuge, pointing out that Te Uanuku did not realise there was a plot. Upon entering the district of Ivirua he called out, 'Who is this who claims to be the champion of my game?' The women were praising Rāei's victory, 'Come, Rāei is winning'. However, once Te Uanuku began to play he was soon beating Rāei. The women praised Te Uanuku, 'Come, Te Uanuku is winning'. The game carried on, without sleep, for three days.

Aratangi now shifted attention to Raumea who was elsewhere awaiting his older brother. Eventually he went looking for him and found him in the morning in Ivirua still playing quoits. Te Uanuku instructed Raumea, 'O Rau, take my place and win till the sun reaches Tavaikura. I will go and sleep (*kirimata*)'. Te Uanuku intended going to Kuramoemoe, a women's house inland. Aratangi interpolated an explanation for the word 'sleep'.

Rāei told off Kikau to await Te Uanuku by a stream. The latter, slaking his thirst with its water, was speared from behind by Kikau. However, Te Uanuku was still able to remove the spear and break it into pieces before dying. Aratangi added that he did not reach the women's house. Raumea meanwhile continued playing at the arena till the sun had reached Tavaikura.

At the appointed hour Raumea waited impatiently for his older brother. He left the arena and went by the stream's edge. He found Te Uanuku's body and carried it up to the mountain where he deposited it in a place called Nukino. He hastened to inform Mautara who returned that same night looking for the place at which his child had died.

He announced his intentions to the district's inhabitants, 'I stand in the choppy ocean at Kororareka. The sun that rises I am there. The sun that sets I am there'. The people became afraid and went to seek out the culprit. Aratangi explained the meaning of Mautara's pronouncement and declared that his intention to kill Kikau was correct.

Once Kikau was found he was brought before Mautara for him to exact revenge. Aratangi reemphasised Kikau's part in Rāei's plot against Te Uanuku. She then described the actual process of compensation exacted. Kikau was cut up with a bamboo knife. On the day he died his fingers were cut off. Mautara asked him, as he was cutting Kikau, 'Why my son?' Kikau replied, 'Misled by Rāei' ('ē-----ia Raei'). Kikau was sliced up while he was still alive. Aratangi abruptly terminated the story announcing: 'That was the story of the death of Te Uanuku and Mautara's satisfaction for the death of his child'.

The more detailed narrations of Te Uanuku's assassination by Gill and Aratangi emphasise different motifs in the story. Gill had Rāei playing *tupe* in the opening whereas Aratangi made it the centrepiece in the plot to catch Te Uanuku unawares. The murder was built up by Aratangi who gave a lot of detail: Te Uanuku's journey to a women's house, his thirst, the attack by Kikau, and Te Uanuku's exhibition of strength even as he died. Gill simply recorded that Te Uanuku was killed by Kikau at night. Instead Gill focussed his version upon Kikau's military attempt to win the *'au* for Rāei. Much of the text elaborates upon the preparation for the battle and the contest itself. In Aratangi's recounting the murder is followed by Mautara's threat and the people's delivery of Kikau. War is only threatened not carried out. Nevertheless, both texts end with the description of Kikau's torture.

The moral tone of the two versions also differs. Gill makes much of Te Uanuku's sexual adventure, labelling him the 'seducer' and depicting Rāei as the rightfully avenging husband. The intrusion of the judge-missionary is unmistakeable. Both Gill and Aratangi deal allusively with the sexual escapade. Both make use of the cessation of Rāei's wife's/s' cloth beater(s). A motif obviously suggesting that the wife was engaging in sexual activity. However, whereas Gill emphasised the 'guilt' of the wife as justification for her husband's actions Aratangi merely alludes to the sexual relationship and Rāei's anger. Instead, Aratangi stressed the correctness of Mautara's subsequent response to the slaying of his son, Te Uanuku. She explained the torture of Kikau as Mautara's rightful need for compensation of his loss.

Given the different requirements of the 'ara mangaia' manuscript Mamae's narration of Te Uanuku's death is perforce more sparing of detail. Some of the story's segments, especially in Gill's version, are confirmed in Mamae's retelling: Mautara's role in locating and hiding Te Uanuku's body; his search for warriors; the role of Pārai, Namu and Manini; and the delay in sacrificing the victim. One crucial difference concerns Pārai, whom Gill believed decided against visiting Mautara; Mamae says the opposite. Perhaps because of the conciseness of the manuscript Mamae does not mention some important motifs in the narrations by Gill and Aratangi: the *tupe* game, the clothbeating, and the torture of Kikau. Mamae is however a good deal more explicit about the sexual nature of the fault which led to the violence. The texts by Gill, Mamae and Te Rangi Hiroa provide a very similar dialogue segment representing the conversation between Pārai (or Parae), Namu and Manini.

The narrations retold by Gill and Mamae differ in some important details from the version told by Aratangi. The greatest contrast lay in the role assigned to Raumea. According to Gill, Raumea was dead, having fallen two years before at Pukuotoi. Mamae confirms this:

> *Ua noo e tae atu i tetai tuatau ke, ua puruki akaou i Pukuotoi, no Ruanae tetai vaka, no Teuanuku ma tai vaka, ua mate a Raumea, ia Teuanuku te au, ka 2 ona mangaia, i tangi rai te paū i ona mangaia.*
>
> A quite different time came, (they) fought again at Pukuotoi. Ruanae led one tribe, Te Uanuku and the others led another tribe. Raumea died. Te Uanuku held the *'au.* He had two *mangaia.* The drum was sounded in his reigns.[52]

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[52] SSSP Newell 9, 'Ara Mangaia'. In his Mormon manuscript Mamae noted Raumea's leading role in the battle against Tuokura and Tepei at Arirā. However Raumea's name is absent from the record of the following battle at Pukuotoi against Ruanae and Tepei. M.

Raumea's demise was also accepted by Te Rangi Hiroa with some additional details. He thought that Raumea died of an infected wound caused by a green husking stick (being used as a weapon) at Puke-o-toi (as he spelt it).[53]

Interestingly, none of these statements about Raumea's end go beyond these parenthetical statements. In Mamae's case this may have been due to narrative constraints and genealogical factors; he was descended from a younger brother, Ikoke.[54] Gill's apparent inability to locate any detailed stories about Raumea's death seems odder when it is realised that at least one known informant, Tereavai, was a direct descendant.[55] The recent Mangaian *kōrero* also failed to mention Raumea in their stories about the Pukuotoi battle.[56] Yet Aratangi has him alive and well and acting as a significant character in her narration.

Aratangi's dramatic assertion of Raumea's existence may suggest that the Ngāti Mautara and Ngāti Tāne interpretations of this historical event differ from earlier accounts by nineteenth century Ngāti Vara. Whether this is the case or not Aratangi's stress on Raumea does highlight other concepts emphasised in Mangaia's culture.

A noteworthy feature of Aratangi's narration is the stress she put upon the relationship between the *tuakana*, Te Uanuku, and his *teina*, Raumea. A *tuakana* was an elder brother, sister or cousin of the same sex. A *teina* was a younger brother, sister or cousin. This elder/ younger relationship expressed itself through an etiquette of unfailing deference and respect. A *teina* was expected to support his or her *tuakana* in any way possible. This supportive role is emphasised in Aratangi's story: Raumea obediently awaited his brother; he took his place in a game; he made the critical discovery of Te Uanuku's body which he hid on the mountain; he alerted their father. Without the appearance of the loyal *teina* the dramatic impetus of the story would have been considerably weakened.

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[53] MangS, 62.

[54] See Figure 1 for Mamae's ancestors.

[55] See Figure 1 for Tereavai's ancestry.

[56] MK, Iviiti Aerepo, 'Te Tua ia Vaia', 'E Tua teia no Oimara'.

The relationship between the *tuakana* and the *teina* was not always such a picture of harmony. Mangaia's past is strewn with examples of strained relationships. Rongo outshone Tangaroa: Rongo defeated Tāne. After the death of Mautara the joint roles of *mangaia* and *pi‘a atua* went to Ngarā, his youngest son, not to the sons of the older brothers. Later the two roles were split up. The second son of Raumea, Te Ka, became *pi‘a atua* while his son, Marokore, became the *mangaia*. The titles never returned to Te Uanuku's line. The *‘au* then passed successively to three descendants of Ikoke, Mautara's third son: Potiki, Koroa and Makitaka.[57] The Mangaian texts favour a dominance of the *tuakana* by the *teina*. This cultural predisposition may have influenced Aratangi to stress the role of Raumea in her narratives of Akatara's killing and Te Uanuku's assassination.

The ensuing hegemony of Ngāti Vara which Mautara was able to so successfully assert after his eldest son's death is remembered in songs which refer to the tribe's many *mangaia*.

(Tumu)	(Introduction)
Kai mangaia o Teaio	The *kai mangaia* of Teaio
Akatu runga	Establish above
Akatu raro	Establish below
Ia Motoro	For Motoro
A kai e	Eat
A kai ra	Eat
Mangaia au o Vara e	The peace (*Mangaia ‘au*) of Vara
(Papa)	(Foundation)
Te taia te vao	The valley (of men) is slain
E ngati ra	The tribe (of Ngāti Vara)
Ia raupo	At Raupo
Nga tangata i te tuapoto	The men at Te Tuapoto
Ia kai ake to anau	When your family ate
E Taipo e	O Taipo
Ngara koe i te rimu kura	Ngarā you were at Rimukura
Nga tokovaru	The eight
I te anaunga a Te ko e	Of Te Ko's family
Raumea paa, o Teuanuku	Raumea and Te Uanuku
Nga tama i mua a mautara	The first sons of Mautara
Ka tupu e	(Who) grew
Koa te puakato e	Te Puakato was pleased
Koa te puakato e mautara	Te Puakato and Mautara were pleased

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[57] See Figure 19 for a genealogy of these connections.

E kai ake	Eating
Kua takitai te au kavake	As one the peaceful reign (?)
[verse one]	
Kavake te au no Mautara ra teaore e	Long and peaceful was the rule of Mautara
E rima tau aitu	Five sacred periods
Na nu roa o te amama nei	By Te 'Āmama's tall coconut tree
[verse two]	
Kai mangaia no ngārā	The *kai mangaia* of Ngarā
E tokonga kumi	Supporting the *kumi* (?)
E tokonga rangi	Supporting the skies
E rā putaputa	The sail is rent with holes
E rā tuia vevero	The sail is pierced by spears
[verse three]	
Kumea te au o Kavainga	Drag out the reign of Kavainga
Ia angarere	At Angarere
E noo i miriope	Remaining at Miriope
Ka ua tana ua patiu i	(It) rains on his (reign) (it) blows
Te anaunga tama a te ariki nei	Upon the son borne of the *ariki*
[verse four]	
Kai mangaia no marokore	The *kai mangaia* of Marokore
Ka aere au e tau medua vaarua e	I went with my father Vaarua
Kua ō au i te tauinga a Rongo nei	I have entered the *tauinga* (?) of Rongo
[verse five]	
Kua tangi te pau o Makitaka	The drum of Makitaka sounds
Kua tuoi te rau tamanu	The leaves of the *tamanu* tree shake (?)
Ka potu te maroro e	Strike the flying fish (?)
Tei runga te tamatamu	Upon the *tamatamu* (?)[58]

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[58] **G 45**, 'E Mata Mori'; **Mi 131, 132**, 'Pee Ke teia, no te Kapa a Vaarua, na Koroa rai i Atu'. The lines 'Kavake te au ... te amama nei' were published in **DL**, 213. ll. 8--19 were published in **MangS**, 60, on the basis of a version written by Mamae who also supplied an explanation which Te Rangi Hiroa incorporated into his text. See **B, M.** I have relied on both sets of commentaries when making my own translation.

Teaio probably refers to the early *mangaia* and *pi'a atua* who later became deified. Te Puakato was another name for Te Ko, the wife of Mautara. Kavainga was an alternative name for Potiki. Va'arua was a son of Ngarā and his first wife Tangaina. See **B**, Ngara 1.

The Mangaian song text is based upon the MSS in **G 45** and **Mi 131, 132.** However the general arrangement of the text follows **G 45.** The introduction and the foundation verses are written on a separate page inserted with the **G 45** MS for the rest of the song.

The differences between these versions mostly involved the division of particular words. The exceptions were l. 34 which in **G 45** reads: 'Ka ua taua ua pati'; I have opted for the **Mi 131, 132** version. l. 36 where I originally understood **G 45** to mean 'Tai' has been changed to 'Kai' to fit with the other verses. The **Mi 131, 132** text ll. 2--3 read: 'A tuku nunga/ A tuku raro'; I preferred the sense suggested in the **G 45** text. The Mangaian departs from Te Rangi Hiroa at one point on l. 8. The version adopted is in **G 45.** The **Mi 131, 132** text read: 'Taia te vao ra' while **MangS**, following Mamae, read: 'Teia te vao' ('This is the valley'). Cf. **M:** 'Tera te vaa', though this may have been a misreading of its text.

The question marks indicate conjectured lines. The phrase 'au kavake' is translated according to Gill's rendering of a similar line in **DL**, 213. No satisfactory translation was found for 'kumi', l. 27; 'tauinga', l. 38; or, 'tamatamu', l. 42. The meaning for 'tuoi' ('shake') is partly based upon meanings found in Tuamotuan and Tahitian. See Stimson with Marshall, 573;

Te popoki te roa i nga au	Break the duration of the reigns
E uri ai nga tau tukoro i te Ariri	Turn over the full years (?) at Ariri
Na kouru mangaia e	Belonging to the head of the *mangaia* (?)
Patua ia pārau e	Strike at *parau* (?)
No te nu e roa e	Belonging to the tall coconut tree
Vananganganga ia Āuāu	Talking in A'ua'u
No Kavainga	Of Kavainga
No Ngarā	Of Ngarā
Nga tau ra e toru e	The three periods
Ie tiria i raro	Cast down
Unuia e Rongo te aratoko	Rongo has drawn out the *aratoko*
E tu i Vaengapu	Standing at Vaengapu[59]

The system of challenges for the supreme political leadership of Mangaia proved, on the whole, an efficacious way of changing government. Like all political rulers a *mangaia* had to be ever vigilant to nip a potential challenger in the bud. Yet far from being in a state of permanent insecurity, an able *'au* had a number of devices he could call on in order to forestall any contestant. Not least was his ability to control a number of warriors and to bind fellow chiefs through marriage, or tribal and religious ties. Mautara was supported by important chiefs in the opposing camp because he was the priest of their own *atua*. Once the *mangaia*'s ability to command such loyal ties was weakened, as Ngauta's undoubtedly was after his split with Tepei, the *'au* came under threat.

The price of the *mangaia*'s failure to forestall a challenger was high not only for himself but for his tribe. The *'au* might lose his life; his tribe might become extinct; they

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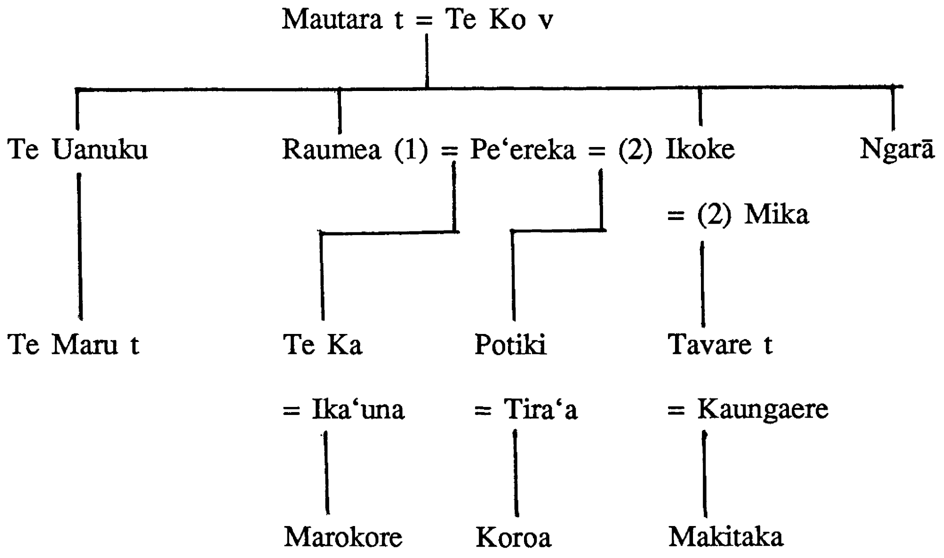
[John Davies], *A Tahitian and English Dictionary with introductory remarks on the Polynesian Language and a short grammar of the Tahitian Dialect* (Tahiti, 1851), 289; Andrews and Andrews, 178.

[59] **Mi 131, 132**, 'Pee no te Kapa a Poito na Koroa i Atu' (*unuunu* [verse] 1). The lines 'No Kavainga ... Vaengapu' were published in **DL**, 213. Kavainga is another name for Potiki. Gill used his editorial licence to present this excerpt as if it was another verse following his portion of the previous song. In reality they were taken from quite different songs though on a similar topic. Several words are conjectured. The meaning for 'tukoro' ('full') is derived from Tuamotuan. See Stimson with Marshall, 252. 'Kouru' ('head') is adapted from the Tahitian ''ouru' meaning a 'point, tip, extremity'. See Andrews and Andrews, 107; Davies, 176. 'Parau' may refer to a place though this interpretation is not entirely satisfactory. The translation for the part published by Gill departs radically from his rendering: 'His descendants, Potiki/ And Ngarā reigned three lustrums/ apiece;/ Then Rongo willed/ That those who had been chiefs/ should be slaves'. Gill is presumably interpreting 'aratoko' as 'chiefs'.

Figure 19: Genealogy of Mautara's descendants[60]



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[60] **B**, Te Uanuku 1, Raumea 2, Ikoke 1, 6, 7, 9, 11.

would certainly lose control of the island's agricultural lands--the victors' glittering prize. Little wonder that Arepe'e, after losing his challenge, turned his face to the setting sun and lamented his crime.

The rule of the *'au* was not only important in terms of the island's political stability but for securing its economic and, more significantly, its spiritual wellbeing. The texts retelling the challenges for the *'au* associated each contest with the the priests of Motoro: the second most important *atua* and the tribal deity of the Ngāriki from whom the *ariki* were drawn. The *'au* and the three *ariki* combined to symbolise the integrity of the island state. Processes for establishing the peace, the installation of an *ariki* or the recognition of a new *mangaia* could not proceed without the active cooperation of these representatives of the temporal and spiritual dimensions of society.

Each challenge for the *mangaia* differed in form and practice from another. Equally the texts of a contest reveal a variety of narrative styles and historical interpretations. The indigenous accounts of Arepe'e's challenge create a more complex retelling of the event than Gill's very truncated story and prevent it becoming a marginalised part of the island's past. Aratangi's versions of Akatara's death and Te Uanuku's assassination focus on aspects of Mangaian culture not stressed by Gill, Mamae or Te Rangi Hiroa. The differences between these texts demand not so much to be 're-solved' as opened out to reveal the many textures making up the fabric of Mangaian history.

CONCLUSION:

THE TEXTED PAST

The texture of the Mangaian past designed by Gill encompassed the mythological or religious and the historical dimensions of the island's pre-contact knowledge. Since publication his writings have been regarded as an important source of information on Pacific ethnology and have been frequently used as the basis for generalisations on many features of Polynesian culture and religion. Te Rangi Hiroa, while critical of many aspects of Gill's interpretations, continued to accept the general pattern of the past that his predecessor had crafted. Te Rangi Hiroa's work on Mangaia and elsewhere, like Gill's before him, has been much used by later scholars.

Together, their writings have come to form the canon of Mangaian ethnographical and historical literature. However, this canon overlooks the historical value of the texted past existing in the vernacular in manuscripts and recorded oral testimony. This corpus, founded upon a much broader textual base, exposes the canonical past to fresh readings.

From amongst these readings a number of points can be made about Mangaia and its connections with wider Polynesia:

First, though the changes wrought by Christianity transformed Mangaian society and its views of the past, a significant degree of continuity can be discerned in its narrating of tradition, the type of authorised narrator and the content of the narrations themselves.

Second, women in Mangaia held an important place in the pre-contact social structure which has been at least partly continued to the present day. Gender roles too reveal a marked degree of complementarity--the women sometimes outwitting the men. Similarities also exist between the position of women in the Mangaian religious hierarchy, in parts of western Polynesia and elsewhere--reinforcing the argument that Mangaian society exhibited marked western Polynesian characteristics.

Third, the narrative of Mangaia's settlement features exploration and conquest motifs common throughout Polynesia. However, certain segments emphasised a peculiarly Mangaian perspective, establishing a mythological charter for later cultural practices.

Fourth, the Mangaian categorisations of the otherworld into a varied assortment of supernatural beings accords with similar systems elsewhere in eastern Polynesia, though some categories were local derivations. As in other parts of Polynesia the Mangaians ordered the supernatural according to certain criteria, including the intensity of the being's fearfulness. They also, as elsewhere, defined and treated other Islanders and European visitors as beings from the otherworld.

Fifth, shamanic practices existed amongst Mangaia's religious experts. Unlike such islands as the Marquesas where shamans played a more peripheral role, inspired priests acted at the very centre of Mangaian society. Like most other Islanders Mangaians record prophecies foretelling the European arrival.

Sixth, the mythological contests for power and its resolutions are a charter for the political structuring of Mangaian society. The office of the temporal ruler reflects the institution of the *hau* in parts of western Polynesia, notably Tonga. As with the *hau* the Mangaian *'au* was attained by military contest. The challenges furnished these island societies with a mechanism for the legitimate transfer of power.

Reading the textures of Mangaia's past also reveals the workings of different social agents. Participants in Mangaian society were linked to one another by multiple bonds of complementarity and cooperation. These positive agents were weakened by conflicts inherent in the social structure which impaired the island's physical and psychic health. The conflicts were ameliorated by efforts to assist the disadvantaged and reintegrate society. These corrective agents worked to resolve the structural oppositions and ensure social harmony and prosperity.

The texts emphasise the redactorial role of their tellers. Gill, on occasion, changed song texts; introduced a mission morality into narratives, including apparent bowderalisations; made stories fit in with a larger order of events; and retold accounts in such a way as to belittle their import, or fudge their indigenous meaning. Te Rangi Hiroa sometimes sought to second-guess informants based on his prior Polynesian insights. The Mangaian storytellers, while sharing a common stock of knowledge, often as not differed from each other. This probably resulted from differing tribal or individual perspectives, or changing moral values. Certain variations arose from differing cultural emphases. Like Gill and Te Rangi Hiroa, Mangaian narrators sometimes obscured the full historical significance of their narrations. The telling of history is always an interested enterprise.

The distinguishing characteristic of any reading of the past is an understanding of the texts as literary constructions of history. The segmentation of the text into meaningful units of information highlights the ways in which a story is narrated: the arrangement of units, the openings and closures, the literary devices, and the emotional colourings evoked by the author's choice of language. Such narrative tricks of the trade enable a narrator to present a particular view of the past to the reader or the listener. Understanding these narrational devices alerts the audience to the authorial stances being assumed and guards against too naive an acceptance of the historical interpretation being put over.

Reading into the texted past also requires an historian to distinguish the particular textures a narrative structure is clothed in. Textual references to formative cultural practices, to religious beliefs, to ways of structuring society, or to the historical warp and weft threading through the past of an island or particular tribal groups call for careful exposition. Clarifying these narrational textures highlights the levels upon which a narrative is operating. Expounding the textures need not be restricted to a particular text but provide an historian with an opening into aspects of the island's history which the surviving texts do not address explicitly.

Coming to such an understanding of the texts does not mean forcing narrations to agree. No two readings share the same structure nor the exact same texture. An appreciation of the literary aspect of history presupposes a delight in diversity and the potential for cacophony. The narrated texts of any story can never be made to fit precisely together but, instead, should be expected to stand uneasily next to one another. The existence of differing versions makes a more profound reading possible. Such diversity celebrates the ethnographic richness of an island's history and ensures that no single interpretation dominates the reading of the past.

Unravelling texts is a process common to all history writing. The idea of History as a literary construction is hardly new. What is different is the consciousness of the interested representations which comprise the past and the analyses adopted to elucidate them. The kinds of representations and the approaches taken by an historian to understand them will vary. In the Pacific a far greater consciousness of historical writing as a literary artifact could be gainfully employed. Not only would such readings reveal the narrational qualities of the writing but expose what has been recorded to a fresh retelling.

Far from implying an abandonment of the search for historical explanation such a reading into the past opens out the possibilities for comprehending the texts of history. An openness to the play of the past is not so much a weakening of the interpretative enterprise as an enriching and broadening of the historical understanding which all historians seek.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: DATING THE DARKNESS/LIGHT CONTRAST

The darkness/light contrast in the Pacific ethnographic literature is often assumed to be a construction of the mission writers.[1] The evidence from Mangaia suggests this view is simplistic. Commenting on Mangaian beliefs in the afterlife Gill noted the indigenous phrases 'aere ki te po' ('go to the night') and 'aere ki te ao' ('go to the day'), and added significantly:

> Of course, as Christian missionaries, we have not failed to make use of phrases so well adapted to our purpose. The standard expression for "heaven" is "*the day, or light of God;*" the converse is simply "night, or darkness."[2]

Mangaian songs show these concepts predated the mission influence.[3] One song, which Gill estimated was composed around 1794, included the lines:

Ua po Avaiki	It was night in Avaiki
Ua ao nunga nei	It was light here above.[4]

More recent investigations seem to support this view, suggesting that Christian notions of light and dark have been added to a pre-existing construct. In a letter to Stimson Te Rangi Hiroa argued that areas such as Mangaia naturally associated *po* (night) and *kino* (bad) before the arrival of the missionaries, though he accepted that 'native pastors' had sometimes 'added something of the foreign European ideas to a native concept'. To him

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[1] See e.g. Lamont Lindstrom, 'Leftamap Kastom: The Political History of Tradition on Tanna, Vanuatu', *Mankind* 13, 4 (August 1982), 322--23; Roger M. Keesing, 'Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific', *The Contemporary Pacific* I, nos. 1 and 2 (Spring and Fall 1989), 27.

[2] M&S, 165.

[3] A similar point has been made for Tuvaluan culture where indigenous notions of day and night meshed with the missionary concepts of light and dark. Michael Goldsmith, 'Time, Space and Bodies: Missionary Discourse and Colonialism in Tuvalu', MS, [1989], 23--26.

[4] M&S, 155; G 45, 'Pee no nunga i te Kapa a Riuvaka'.

'po was never *hell* but it was a hell of a place to be in'.[5] A similar conclusion was reached by the English anthropologist Christian Clerk who spent a year in Mangaia in the 1970s:

> A highly-charged light/dark contrast existed in pre-Christian Mangaian thought, for instance, in the distinction between the everyday world of light, the *ao*, and the dark and dangerous underworld of night, the *po*. It seems that very dark colouring could imply a link with the world of death ... . The Christian symbolism of light and dark could be seen as a development upon, rather than in conflict with, these indigenous conceptions.[6]

The terminology of the Mangaian *kōrero* themselves points to a similar conclusion. A number of texts refer to the ancestors' *marama [i.e. mārama]* which can be translated as 'understanding' but which in fact can just as correctly be read as 'light'. Such enlightenment is admittedly different from the light of the Christian message which modern Mangaians adhere to; nevertheless, the use of the word suggests a more positive structuring of the pre-Christian past than allowed for by the belief that the darkness/light contrast came with the European missionaries.[7]

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[5] Te Rangi Hiroa to Stimson, 24 February 1932, MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 10, BPBML, 13. His emphasis. Also **MangS**, 203--04. Stimson had argued strongly against *po* meaning *kino* even when it was the opinion of his informants. E.g. Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, II, 187, 223. Te Rangi Hiroa sought for information on the connection in New Zealand. E.g. ibid., II, 213--16.

[6] 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 532.

[7] Rarotongans refer to their ancestors as *poiri* (''unenlightened'') [literally, darkness] who had not yet received the *mārama* (''enlightenment'') from the missionaries. See Baddeley, 'Rarotongan Society', 234--35.

Levy, 254 fn. 4, noted that the Tahitian term for '"enlightenment"' *māramārama* referred to the bringing of Christian knowledge and by extension non-traditional introduced knowledge in general. Tahitians also divided the world into *ao nei* (this world, of the living) and *ao ra* (that world, i.e. the Christian heaven and hell). Ibid., 180 fn. 6.

APPENDIX B: THE CHANGING TRIBE

The status of the Mangaian tribe has undergone a series of transformations during the post-contact era. Donald Marshall, who undertook field work on the island during the 1950s and 1960s, described the tribe as a *ngāti*. He portrayed it as the principal descent grouping in pre-Christian Mangaia.[1] It was an eponymous group deriving its name from some ancestor or ancestral god. More recently, the *ngāti* has ceased to perform any real function and as a consequence its membership has become unclear.[2] With the *ngāti*'s decline there has been a move to replace the term with *kōpū tangata*, originally a person's 'kindred': his or her parents, children, grandparents, grandchildren and other consanguineal relatives, though excluding a spouse.[3] Following Te Rangi Hiroa,[4] this term has been favoured as the vernacular for 'tribe'.[5]

The most recent field investigators have argued that the functional role of the *kōpū tangata* is declining. Bryant Allen thought that tribal identity was not important to the individual. He noted that over half of his sample population seemed unsure which tribe they belonged to, though he pointed out that those who belonged to the dominant tribal groups, Ngāti Mana'une and Ngāti Tāne, were in little doubt as to their correct allegiance.

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[1] Te Rangi Hiroa disagreed with the usage of *ngāti* to mean tribe. He regarded it as a prefix requiring the addition of the ancestor's personal name. See **MangS**, 103.

[2] Donald Marshall, 7--8.

[3] Ibid., 10, 16--17. A fuller definition in ibid., 16--21.

[4] **MangS**, 102.

[5] Parallel changes in kinship terminology can be found in Rarotonga. Baddeley, 'Rarotongan Society', 129--136, 138--49. However Marshall has stressed that there are important differences between the kin structures in these two islands. Donald Marshall, 50 fn. 9, 51 fn. 17. The Rarotongan term *koputangata* is now also used in Pukapuka, see Borofsky, 24--35.

The Mangaian tribe (*kopu i.e. kōpū*) was the subject of much anthropological debate in the early 1960s, particularly between Edmund Leach and H.W. Scheffler. Leach, 'A Note on the Mangaian *Kopu*', 603, reckoned that the Mangaian *kōpū* was an exogamous, patrilocal patriclan whose women retained residual land rights. Essentially patrilineal the married daughters might, in an emergency, provide additional males for the *kōpū*. Scheffler, 906--907, thought that there was a strong element of patrilineal ideology operating in a *kōpū*. Recruitment was as much by genealogy as by residence. Membership was ordered by agnatic status and seniority.

This knowledge he put down to the advantages it gave an individual in status and land rights.[6]

The view that tribal structures have weakened receives support from Clerk. He noted that 'the *kopu tangata* [*sic*], as a well-defined tribal unit, has disappeared', becoming defined instead as a 'family'.[7] (Allen provides statistics showing that over half the Mangaian population was living by 1967 in nuclear families.)[8] Furthermore, few of Clerk's informants could name their own tribe and what genealogical knowledge did exist rarely extended beyond the grand-parental generation.[9] Te Rangi Hiroa noted that apart from Ngāti Vara no other tribes retained extensive genealogies.[10]

Notwithstanding this evidence, it does appear that certain categories of Mangaians, namely, *kōrero* and chiefs are able to trace their genealogies much further back.[11] Clerk noted that members of the *aronga mana* (i.e. the chiefs) retained a greater genealogical knowledge than the ordinary Mangaian.[12] Furthermore it is not certain that the observed lack of genealogical knowledge beyond the grand-parental generation really signifies any recent *lacuna*. A grand-parent can remember his or her own grand-parents. Unless specific records were kept it is unlikely any individual would remember further back. This is most likely to be the case for the ordinary (i.e. non-chiefly) Mangaian.

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[6] Allen, 44.

[7] Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangians', 73. For a similar definition in Rarotonga, see Baddeley, 'Rarotongan Society', 138--139. Cf. Atiu where recent research has shown that the tribe remains socially significant in the modern era. Stephenson, 113. The loss of tribal identity does seem to have been more profound in Mangaia.

According to Donald Marshall, 21, an alternative term which can be loosely rendered 'family' is *'ūanga.*

[8] Allen, 44, 45. The simple nuclear family formed 51 (56.7%) of the 91 families sampled; the 'cognatic nuclear' family, consisting of head of family, wife, children and grandchildren, without any affinial relations present formed 15 (15.5%) of the families. In these cases the family often became a nuclear family upon the marriage of the children. See ibid., table xiv, 45.

In this regard Allen's statistics for the household which he defines as 'a less formal structure at the family level', or more practically, 'a group comprising those people who eat from a common kitchen', are interesting. The average number of persons in a household was 7.6; the most common number of persons in a house was 7.0. See ibid., table xvi, 46.

[9] Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 73. A similar restriction of genealogical knowledge to the grandparental generation is noted in the Society islands. Levy, 218. A limited knowledge of genealogies is also found in Pukapuka. Borofsky, 119-20.

[10] **MangS**, 26.

[11] E.g. genealogies of Atingakau (*'ui rangatira*) and Tereevangeria Aratangi in Cook Island Notebook No. 1; Gunson MS, 'John Tangi Rere: Family Book'.

[12] Clerk, 'Animal World of the Mangaians', 73.

Other evidence suggests a continuing appreciation of the role the tribe plays in social life. Mangaians still express the notion that it is inappropriate to marry within a *kōpū* and do not favour marriages between first or even second cousins,[13] views not too dissimilar in spirit from their forebears.[14] In the earlier twentieth century Te Rangi Hiroa suspected that some individuals suppressed their tribal origins in order to gain access to land and to enhance their social status, suggesting that tribes remained a significant presence in people's lives.[15] Rather than disappearing the Mangaian tribe has simply been redefined.

The flexibility shown in the definition of a tribe is borne out by the variety of terms encountered for it in Mangaia's historical songs:

Noo i Ivirua, kopu tangata o Motoro	Live at Ivirua, tribe of Motoro
Ua pau te vaka o Ruanae	The tribe of Ruanae has been vanquished
Ko te anau a Te Vaki, ko ngati vairangi	The family of Te Vaki is Ngāti Vairangi
Ka tua ra tai kopu o Kanaē!	The tribe of Kanae is slain together
... *no te kopu o ngati Tane*	About the tribe of Ngāti Tāne[16]

Other terms such as *pare*, *ē*, or *Nga-* (e.g. Ngāriki) are identified by Te Rangi Hiroa.[17] Not only is there a variety of terms for the one institution, but a variety of descriptions for the one tribe. The priestly tribe, Te 'Āmama, appears in the guises of its various eponymous ancestors:

I te utu ruru na ngati Mautara	WWG: Bitter as fish poison/is the tribe of Mautara

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Cf. **CIC**, 5. 'Exogamy was the universal rule of the olden time ... . Distant cousins sometimes (though rarely) marry; but must be of the same generation, *i.e.* be descended in the same degree (fourth or fifth, or even more remotely) from the common ancestors'.

[15] Te Rangi Hiroa, MS SC Buck Group 3 box 3.4 Cook Island Field Notes iv, p. 58, BPBML; **MP**.

[16] **G 45**, no title; **DL**, 107; **G 45**, 'E Pee rai teia no runga rai ia Vaia'; **G 44**; **DL**, 181; **G 45**, 'Matamori'; **DL**, 129; **G 45**, 'E pee, e Tangi, no nunga i te Kakao na Arokapiti'; **DL**, 147; **G 45**, 'Pee no Ue'; **DL**, 65.

[17] **MangS**, 101--105.

Ko te upoko tikitiki, o ngati vara nei	Ngāti Vara is the topknot of the head[18]

Tribes could also receive new designations to describe any divisions into subtribes, e.g. the Ngāriki was divided into the Ngāriki or Pāpārangi, 'Akatauira and Vaeruarangi.[19] The Mangaian tribe, like the social structure it designated, has more than likely always moved with the times. It would be a mistake to assume that the tribe has become socially irrelevant.

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[18] **DL**, 128, 298; **G 44**; **G 45**, 'E Mata[mori ?]. Vara was the son of the first priest Papaaunuku and Mautara was perhaps the most famous of the tribe's *pi'a atua.*

[19] **MangS**, 102.

APPENDIX C: MANGAIAN LANGUAGE TEXTS

Manuscript A: Chapter four.

E tara amo no teia enua nei, koia
oki te tara i te anau kiore e te Tuna e te Kōkōpu
e te ngāvao i raro i te vai.

Tera te tuatau, i karangaia e, e mea anauia e tetai vaine, o Tumuterue tona ingoa, e tamaine aia na Tumuteanaoa, i karangaia taua anau manu ra e, e anau tuarangi, no te mea e kakati i te tangata.

I tetai ra, ua tupu te manako o Rangi ka aere aia a pokai aere ana i te enua, ia kite aia e, eaa ra to reira, ua akakite atu ra aia i tona tupuna ia Papa e, ka aere aia a kakaro aere i te enua, ma te ui atu oki iaia e, e tangata ainei to reira? ua nako maira a Papa, tera rai, ka aere ra koe a tokāia, (tera te tokā) e tāū, e tao na to Rarotonga na, /2

kua karanga atura a Papa iaia, e na te tanga koe i maui te aere, e aere ua koe e Tuaopapa o, e na miri koe i te aere e na Taā, e na te pae mato, ia tae koe i tetai ngai i miri ake, tera te ingoa o taua ngai ra, o Tutāiore, e tu koe i reira, ei reira koe e ō ai, Aere atura a Rangi, e tae atura i te ngai ta Papa i iku mai iaia ra, ua tu iora aia, ua ō atura, nako atura aia, ōōi! Ua ō maira oki a Tumuteanaoa, Ua ui atura a Rangi, oai terara! Ua pera mai oki a Tumuteanaoa, oai terara! Ua nako atura a Rangi, taūna ea koe i te ai! Ua pera maira oki a Tumuteanaoa, taūna ea koe i te ai! ua tupu iora te riri o Rangi, ua kino tona inangaro no taūna aia, no te mea e Ariki aia, e tangata tapu aia, Ua oki atura aia ia Papa ra e ui e, /3

Koai ïa tangata o, akakite atura a Papa e, o Tumuteanaoa, ui atura a Rangi, tei ia te ngai i noo ai, akakite maira a Papa, tei roto i te koatu i roto i tetai rua, o Taiapiti te ingoa (Tei Tavaenga ia ngai, tei miri i Touri) Ua oki atura a Rangi ua kimi aere, e kitea iora tei roto rai i te rua i akakiteia mai e Papa iaia ra, ua ui atura a Rangi, o korua korua koai?

nako maira a Tumuteanaoa, o matou o te anau, ui atura a Rangi, teiia'i ratou? akakite maira aia, tei te maunga oki atura a Rangi, kake atura na runga i te maunga, i na te karava i te morava e tae atura i te kano i Rangimotia, ua noo iora i reira, tapa iora i taua ngai ra i tona uaorai ingoa, koia oki, "a Rangi-motia" a motia, "E kano" ia nakoia, o Rangi i te kano Ua anga atura tonga mata i te pae i maui, /4

i te kimi rai i taua anau ra, i manako aia e, e anau tangata, kareaia i kite e, e anau tuarangi, koia oki e pa manu, e te pa ika o raro i te vai, Ua ariu atura tona mata, i te pae i katau, kite atura aia i taua vai i Veitatei i Tiriara ra, Ua eke iora aia i raro i tetai vao, tera te ingoa i taua vao ra, o Ikurui, ia tae atu aia i raro i taua vao ra, kite iora aia i tetai rua vai te pupu ua maira te vai no roto mai i te tumu, a taua maunga ra, ua timata iora aia i te ko ia kite aia i te tapainga mai o taua vaira, ua maara aia e, no reira 'tu taua vai tana e kakaro atu i Tiriara ra, e kia ko aia, kare ua e mutuanga o te vai, ko atu aia, ua tae mai, pera ua rai aia e kare rai e mutu, Tera te mea i /5

kore ai e mutu te taē i te vai, e tiaki tei roto i taua rua vai ra, tera te tiaki, e Tuna, tera te ingoa o taua Tuna ra, o kaū, o tetai tamaiti ïa i Karangaia e Tumuteanaoa ia Rangi ra e, Kua aere i te maunga, I naringa a Rangi i ko ua atu rai i taua rua vai ra, ua kakari ia aia e taua Tuna ra, no te mea ra, ua roiroi a Rangi i te koanga, no te mea ua paruparu aia i te repo, taka iora i tona repo i te vai, oki atura aia ki runga i taua maunga ra e akaanga i te roi, E roa poto akera, ua angaanga kino tona manava, aere atura aia e titiko, e kia oti oki maira aia e noo, e ua nānā atura tona mata i te ngai tana i titiko ana ra, kite atura aia i tetai anana manu tei te ngai tana i titiko ana ra, ua viri, tera taua manu ra, e Kiore, te kai ra i tona tutae, ua aere atura aia e kakaro, ua /6

tau orooro atura te kiore, ia kakaro aia ua pau tona tutae, ua tupu akaou iora tona riri mei tona riri ia Tumuteanaoa i taū ana iaia ra, e te kai nei oki te kiore i tona tutae, no te mea e tapu aia e Ariki, e tapu oki tona tutae e tutae Ariki, E tae akera i tetai ra, ua kite akaou aia i taua manu ra, ua ta iora aia, apai atura ei kai na Papa,

Ua taka ia au e, o ta Rangi pangeara ïa i tana puruki i Teruanoninga i keia ra, e e tangata ta Tongaiti o Matoetoeā te ingoa, O te tu tena, o tena tara keteamo, ua taka ia au e, me aere te tangata na te pae mato, koia oki te uru mato, me kapiki aia ka apaiia tona reo i roto i te koatu mei tona reo rai e tana karanga te tu, /7

Tera te pūe i atua no Tumuteanaoa, no te kapa a Marokore, na Marokore rai i atu,

"Tumuteanaoa te poani ia avaiki e!
poania te rā e! āe Tautiti, e Tumuteanaoa"

Manuscript B: Chapter six.

Te orama Numangatini au te tuatua na te Atua i tae mai ai i Mangaia

Te moe ua ra aia i roto i tona are i Akaoro kite atura aia iaia uaorai te aere ra aia i uta atu i roto i te are pia e are uipaanga no te aronga nunui kare i are ngaika tera te mea i tapaia ei i te are pia, ko te are ia e noo ai te au pia atua[.]

Tae atura aia ki taua are ra noo iora aia i nunga i tetai koatu tarere i te paepae o taua are ra kua tuatua maira te aronga nunui kiaia i te tuatua no te enua kare ra aia ki atu i ta ratou tuatua kua muteki ua aia[.] I reira tetai reo i te kapiki anga mai kiaia E Teariki e! ka kake mai koe i runga kiaaku nei kua akara atura i runga i te nu ei, I na, e tangata teatea te tu ua maira mei te papaa te tu kare rai au i rongo i te kake ki runga i te nu kiaia ra[.]

Kua kapiki akaou maira ko te turua ia E Teariki e! ka kake mai ki runga kiaku nei kua akatika atura au kake atura au ki runga i te nu i taua tangata i kapiki mai iaku ra noo atura maua i tetai manga taime, kua tuatua maira taua tangata ra kiaku ka kokoti taua i to upoko kua karanga atura au kiaia auraka, e upoko tapu taku, kua tuatua maira aia kare e tapu e ruru taua i te upoko e tikai, ko taku ia tuatua / [2]

koe, Tei te rangi te Atua ko Iehova kua akara atu ra au ki runga i te rangi Ei Ina, kua muramura takiri te rangi mei te parai ura te tu[.]

Kua tuatua maira aia kiaku ko Iehova te Atua ko Iehova te Atua tei te rangi Kua motu iora taku upoko iaia i reira kua tuatua maira aia kiaku ka rere taua e na mua koe iaku te rere ei miri au kua ekoko iora au kua karanga maira aia ka rere taua rere atura maua e tau atura i runga i te Utuotangaroa i Okio[.]

Kua tuatua maira aia kiaku e ka akara ana i to mata ki tai kua akara atura au Ei Ina, e teatea anake mei a Orongo te tu i kirikiri mei runga e raro kua tau maira aia kiaku ko toou ia oire, ei reira koe noo ai e te tuatua na te Atua e tuatau uatu[.]

Kua tuku iora aia i tona rima i runga i toku upoko ongi maira i taku rae i te pae katau kua tuatua maira kiaku ka aere taua ngaro ke atura aia kiaku ara'keta [?] au i taua moe ra Ei Ina, e orama taua tuatua nei[.] / [3]

E tae akera i tetai ra kua orama akaou aia ko te rua teia o tana orama tei Tavaenga aia te moe ra i roto i te are i Atiu Marama[.]

kite atura aia i tetai pai tei Atuokoro i tai ra kia akara aia e pai rai te aere ra aia e atoro i taua pai ra e tae atura aia ki tai i Orongo[.]

kite atura aia i e tokorua tangata no runga mai i te pai kua tau mai i uta i Avarua kua mou aia i to raua rima e kua arataki atura ia raua i Keia koia e Metuaiviivi e Tavare e Maungaati e tae atura ratou i Vaitirota kare i tae tika i Keia kua ara aia tapa atura [aua/ana ?] nga tangata ra i tana rima Na Metuaiviivi ma i akatae atu i te taki i Keia kua maiti aia i taua Orama ra[.]

kua karanga atura aia ia Metuauti e moe taku i teianei po kua ui maira Metuauti. Eaa taau moe? kua karanga atura au e pai ua tau tei Atuokoro Tera taku i kite e puke tangata tokorua te takira matou i Keia koau e Metuaiviivi e Tavare e Maungaati[.]

E ao akera, kua karanga atura au i e tokotoru tamariki e aere ki runga i te maunga e akara e kare e pai ia tai i Atuokoro te akara ua ra ratou kitai kite atura i te pai tei tai i Atuokoro kua ee maira ratou e mea ngiti ua kare i mou ta mai kua karanga atura aia ia Metuauti. ka aere taua ka akara i taua pai nei ki runga i te maunga aere atu ra mana e akara, ei Ina, e pai rai aere atura maua i Keia e ta ngaei kua ui maira te tangata tini tei ea te pai? kua karanga atura maua tei Atuokoro i tai ra[.]

E aiai iora kua uipa te aronga nunui ia Keia i roto i taua are pia taku i kite i te orama mua ra te ra te tuatua na te varua kino na Metuaiviivi i akakite mai iaku e e aere koe i tai e akara i te pai e tae akera i te aengata aere atu ra au ki tai i Orongo kia akara au i runga kua tau Davida ki uta i taingakoro te aerera au e te tangata e tiki iaia kua na runga maira matou i te akau te na te moana akera Tiare e uru mai ra tona vaka i Avarua taki atura au ia raua[.]

Manuscript C: Chapter eleven.

(i) First version

Te Pee taau i kite ia mataiti ra, Tira ua oki taku naai i kite, kare au i kaiana i tena pee,

E tiroaroa ana taua i te tuatau e tupu ai tena pee, ena ua taka paa ia au, o tira ua oki, Tera te tu, o te rā tena ingaa'i a ngauta raua ko Arepee, i kapiti ana raua, e toru ara i ngaa'i raua. Tera tei mua, e one uî na ngauta tera te ingoa i te uî, e uî parai. Tetai rā, ua aere a ngauta e kakaro i tana one uî, ia tae atu aia, otira ua kato aere ia te kao, e aana iaia e, ma te moko i kai, ia kakaro tika ra tona mata otira e rima tangata te kato, ua oki aia i tona kainga. Tera tana ravenga, ua reviri aia i tona rau tangata. Kua tuatua aia ia ratou E te matakeinanga e, tera te tuatua, e aere te kaūravakai i raro i te tai, i tetai mangaika na tatou, e noo tetai pae e ropa i tetai poke. Ina ra ia tae mai te tuku tautai, ua reviri a ngauta i te mangaika mana e koū. Tera tana ravenga, o tai koū, tokorua tangata, o tai koū, tokorua tangata,

/2 pera ua atu rai e pini ua ake, e kia maoa te manga, ua riki a ngauta ua putu i te Takurua e oti akera, ua tuoro aia i tena rau tangata ia aere mai ia noo i nunga i te putunga ia kai, ua reki aia i tetai ngai kakaro mai ai i te tangata i kai iti kare i noo i nunga i te putunga, kitea iora e ia, ina ko Arepee. Kua taka i roto ia ngauta e, nana i tuparu i tena uî, ua vai i roto i te ngakau o ngauta kare i tara atu, ua kite a ngauta e, ua raka a Arepee, no te mea ua kai iti. No reira te aerenga tara ra e, "Auā e kai a Arepee" e akairo tangata inangaro raka me pera te kai, mei te kai mikimiki ra te tu, e vaia i tetai.

Tera te rua o te ara, ua rongo a ngauta e, ua mōnoa te pūpū mātā tutae i roto i te pia vai ia tere te kava o te tutae i miri ia inu mai a ngauta i te vai tutae.

Tera nga Tapere i noo ai raua, o nga Tuapoto i Veitatei ra, te Tapere ia mataiti ra, no ngauta ïa, tei miri i Vaipia tona kainga, o tei ïa mauapa ra, o to Arepee ïa. Kare ainei koe i kite i te [nu ?] i Teruato i taata ia, o tei paoa a roto ei

/3 akatae atu i te vai ia taē i te Tapere ia mataiti ra? o Rāreā te ingoa i te ngai e pupu atu ai te vai, a taē atu ai i raro i teaānga Taro i te Tapere o mataiti ra tei reira taua pia vai i mōnoa ai te tutae i roto ia taē aere atu te tutae i miri ia inu mai a ngauta, (kare rai te tutae e tae ki miri, e ravenga taketekete ua) ua akakoro maki ua a ngauta, kare i akaatea i tona inangaro ua kite rai koe i te ravenga a to mangaia nei i (te puna vai, e pia te vai i tetai potonga Āu popoa ia tomo te vai na roto a pate te puna vai i te riri nui o te vai, mei tei reira te tu i te pia i monoa i te tutae e taiku ia nei)

Tera te toru o te ara ka atea'i te inangaro o ngauta, E tuatua na Akaina ia ngauta, tera ta raua tara, ua tuatua a Akaina ia ngauta, e tau tangata e, te kite ua ra paa koe i te roimata pururu o tau tamaiti? ua ui atu a ngauta, eaa tona roimata pururu? ua nako maira a Akaina, e kakaro mata ua no Arepee i te vaine a tau tamaiti te kanga ia maira e te tangata, i tera rā, i tera rā, e kare e ki atu ua nako atura a ngauta kare au e kite ana, akakite atura a ngauta ïa Akaina e,

/4 e rua oki ana ara i nunga iaku, ua rava iora te manako o ngauta e, ka tueru aia ia Arepee, no te mea ua oti ta raua tara o Akaina

Tera te ingoa i te tamaiti a Akaina, o ngeēngeē, e āāki ïa tangata o Akaina, e Tongaiti tai pae, e e Tuma oki, e e Pei oki i kore ai e tika iaia ia ta ia Arepee, no te mea, e Pei.

Tera te ingoa i te vaine a ngeēngeē, o Taaumarama, e tamaine na Arepee, E tae atu i te tuatau i maki ai a Akaina, ua ikuiku aia i tana tamaiti ia ngeēngeē, auraka koe e tau

tamaiti e aue vave iaku me mate au, e tiaki koe ia ngauta ia tae mai, ei reira koe e Aue ai iaku, Tera taau potonga pee e tuku ai ia akarongo a ngauta, "O ngā kōrēro a Teaaka e, mei tonga oki au e!" Tera te mea i kore ai Akaina e ta ia Arepee, ka ara oki aia, ia ngaro akerā tona mata na ngauta [???][1]

E tae i te rā i mate ai a Akaina, tei Keia Akaina, tei Veitatei a ngauta, ua aere maira a ngauta e ongi ia Akaina i mate ra, i reira a ngeengee i aue ai, ua tuku i te potonga pee i iku nao iaia e Akaina ra, "O ngā kōrero a te aka o, mei tonga oki au e!" O Akaina taua Teaka na. Te akarongo ra a ngauta i taua pee ra. i reira a ngauta
/5 i akarongo ai, ua tuatua maira a ngauta, Tera tana tuatua, Aore e matakeinanga ia Aka. oki atura ngauta i Veitatei tueru atura ia Arepee. peke atura a Arepee e tei piri atu iaia, kake atura i kaēva, e tae atu i nunga i te ngai taōra, ua tāu i te ai ei tunu i ta ratou koka, o tei karangaia e, o te aî meika a Tepei. e angai tena no ratou o te taūa ïa e puruki ai, i reira, ua ariu te mata o Arepee i te opunga o te rā, ua tupu te tangi i roto i tona ngakau i te ara e aere ai tana tamaine i te kave tai i Tuaāti, aere atura i Teikuere, ei reira akamate ai, no reira tena pee taau i rongo ia mataiti ra

Tera te tumu

kopu tangata o Arepee o
te aî meika i Kāēva ia
karo atu ia Tamarua ia
kake ake Veitatei ia pūpū
nga ono e. Ua motu rai
ia ngauta a Tepei ē
Tera te papa
E uea Tepei ia Atea ia oi
atu i tai paenga o te ivi
kovere, ia ngauta riro ake nei

ia Arepee na
ngakoā i te umu
E tao e māi te
Ikuerē!

E uri ake koe i!
tena kapi, ei tai
tanga ake au akaaere
ai i tona pee,

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[1] Indecipherable word added in margin of text.

(i) Translation:

(Here is) the song you know about Mataiti, this is all I know as I did not learn that song.

We should look sympathetically at the time in which the song was composed. Those (days) are known to me. Enough of that.

This is the manner of separation of Ngauta and Arepe‘e. They had been united. They divided over three crimes. First, Ngauta owned a plot of yams. The yams were called *u‘i parai.*[2] One day Ngauta went to look at his yam plot. When he arrived there however the buds had been trimmed and joined together and the young leaves eaten. He straightway saw that human hands had done the trimming. He returned home. He gathered his many people (‘ua reviri aia i tona rau tangata’)[3] and said to them, ‘O tribe, the fishermen will go to the sea for our fish, another group will sit and make a *poke* pudding’.

When the fish arrived Ngauta gathered the fish to be cooked (‘ua reviri a ngauta i te mangaika mana e koū’). He gave one portion to every two persons, everything being apportioned this way.

When the food was cooked Ngauta went in and gathered the feast together. When that was done, he called out to the host of people to come and sit upon the gathering place to eat. He squatted in one place and looked for the person who ate the least and did not stay at the gathering place. He saw the person. It was Arepe‘e.

Ngauta was sure that he had crushed his yams. Ngauta kept this to himself, he did not say anything. Ngauta knew that Arepe‘e was responsible (‘ua kite a ngauta e, ua raka a Arepee’)[4] because he had eaten very little. Hence the origin of the phrase, ‘Do not eat like Arepe‘e’, symbolising a man with little desire (for things) like food, as if it was the sort of food which had shrivelled up and been put aside ('e akairo tangata inangaro raka me pera te kai, mei te kai mikimiki ra te tu, e vaia i tetai').[5]

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[2] Savage, 429, describes this as an indigenous variety.

[3] No meaning is available for ‘reviri’ = ? ‘gathered’. I have supplied the most likely explanation suggested by the word’s context.

[4] No meaning is available for ‘raka’ = ? ‘responsible’. I have provided a conjectural reading based on the word’s context.

The second crime Ngauta tasted. A clump of water grass (covered with) faeces was inserted into a section of water ('ua monoa te pūpū mātā tutae i roto i te pia vai') so as to increase the bitter taste of the faeces when Ngauta drank from the contaminated water ('i te vai tutae').[6]

The subdistrict where (Ngauta and Arepe'e) resided was Nga Tuapoto in Veitatei. This subdistrict of Mataiti belonged to Ngauta. His home was behind Vaipia. Arepe'e had his at Mauapa.

Do you know the [coconut tree ?] at Teruato near the sea which is cracked open inside so that the water may flow to Mataiti's subdistrict? Rarea is the name of the place from whence the water comes, flowing under the taro plantations ('teaānga taro') in the subdistrict of Mataiti. It was there that the section of water was blocked up by the faeces inside ('tei reira taua pia vai i mōnoa ai te tutae i roto'). When the faeces was at the back, Ngauta drank (the faeces would not have truly been at the back, an utterly shameful deed) ('kare rai te tutae e tae ki miri, e ravenga taketekete ua').[7] Ngauta bided his time, he did not reveal his thoughts.

You certainly knew the spring of the *mangaia.* The water was divided off into a pool Au popoa. When the water entered inside, the spring pulsated with the energy of the water, similar to that section blocked up by faeces as was mentioned before.

The third crime released Ngauta's feelings. Akaina spoke to Ngauta saying, 'O my Man, do you see the tears falling down my child?'[8] Ngauta asked, 'why are his tears falling down?' Akaina said, 'Arepe'e is always looking at the wife of my child. (He) fornicates (with her) every day and (Nge'enge'e) doesn't say anything'. Ngauta spoke, 'I did not know'. Ngauta revealed to Akaina, '(Arepe'e) has (committed) two crimes against me'. Ngauta's thoughts were satisfied. He would expel Arepe'e.

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[5] This last passage is only an approximate interpretation of the original as I have had to conjecture the meanings for two words 'raka' = ? 'little' and 'mikimiki'= ? 'shrivelled up'. In the Tuamotu Islands *mikimiki* = shrunken, shrivelled. See Stimson with Marshall, 303.

[6] The 'pūpū mātā' or 'clump of water grass' refers to a kind of water grass common to the inland swamp areas of Mangaia. Mark, 229.

[7] This section of text is based on a conjectured meaning for 'taketekete' = ? 'shameful'.

[8] The Mangaian text writes the first person possessive as 'tau' = 'ta'u', i.e. *taku.* Gill notes a similar usage in a song text: 'tau ariki' = 'my king'. **DL**, 281.

Akaina's child was called Nge'enge'e. Akaina was A'aki and Tonga'iti on one side as well as a Tuma and a Pei.[9] It was not correct for him to kill Arepe'e, because (he was) a Pei.

Nge'enge'e's wife was called Ta'aumārama, she was a daughter of Arepe'e. When Akaina became sick he instructed his child, Nge'enge'e, 'do not, my child, cry too hastily for me when I die. You must wait for Ngauta to arrive. Then you cry to him. This is the song excerpt you will deliver when Ngauta is listening, "The speeches of Teaaka, I am also from the south"'. The thing being that Akaina could not kill Arepe'e. He stayed awake in case he missed Ngauta ('ka ara oki aia, ia ngaro akera tona mata na ngauta').

One day Akaina died. Akaina was at Kei'a. Ngauta was at Veitatei. Ngauta went to kiss Akaina who had died. There Nge'enge'e cried out, delivering the song piece taught to him by Akaina ('i reira a ngeengee i aue ai, ua tuku i te potonga pee i iku nao iaia e Akaina ra'). '"The speeches of Te aka o, I am also from the South!"' Akaina was Te aka.

Ngauta listened to that song. While he was listening Ngauta said, 'It is not the tribe of Aka' ('Aore e matakeinanga ia Aka'). Ngauta returned to Veitatei and expelled Arepe'e. Arepe'e was removed and all those depending on him. (They) climbed to Kaēva. Upon reaching a cooking place (they) lit a fire to cook their bananas. This is called the banana fire of Tepei. They took nourishment from the fire and fought there. Arepe'e's face turned to the setting sun. He lamented the crime.

His daughter went to carry sea water at Tuaati. At Teikuere (she) was put to death. Hence that song you heard about Mataiti.

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[9] Te Rangi Hiroa believed Tuma was a part of the Ngāriki. **MangS**, 51.

The stem

The tribe of Arepe‘e
Of the banana fire
Look at Tamarua,
Climb up to Veitatei
Whence the six bubble up.
Ngauta and Tepei have been truly severed!

The foundation

Tepei was opened
Disclosed, shifting
From one part of the ridge at Kovere,
When Ngauta sent Arepe‘e away
Ngakoa made the oven,
Spear the daughter at Ikuere!

You must translate that page. It is a part which I recorded from that song.

(ii) Second version:

Mangaia Te tuatua ia Arepee

Kua tanu a Ngautā i tetai one. ui e tupu. atura e tae akera i tetai rā te aere rā aia e akara i tona akara anga kua tupu kua rekareka atura aia i tana one ui nana’ra.

E tae akera i tetai rā kua aere akaou aia kua akarā i taua akara anga nona rā tera tana i kite kua katia te kaō e te moko[10] i te ui, kua riri aia e kua kimi i tona manako, kua kite aia e, e kino teia ka tupu

E oti akera kua akatupu atura aia i tetai takurua maata e kua tiki aere aia i te aronga nunui i raro ake i tona au e te tangata rikiriki ma te vaine. tini te tamariki

E kua akakite atura i ratou Tera taua tuatua i akakite atu ia ratou ka ropa ratou i te Takurua ei reira kua ropa. kua oro te Poke.

/2 Kua taki te mamio kua kake te akari kua tipu te meika e oti. kua akaputuputu mai i taua kai rā i reira kua vee te tangata tetai pae ei a ratou te oro i te poke tetai pae ei a ratou te tau i te umu. tetai pae. kua aere i te tuku tautai. te aere ra ei reira kua rauka te ika. tera te ingoa i ta ratou ika e kanae. te oki maira i te kainga. kua raverave kua kou i tau ika rā i te raumaika[11] e oti akera kua putu te Takurua e oti kua kai, i roto i taua kai anga rā kua aere taua tangata, nona taua mangaia rā kua aere aia i te openga no te takurua e kua akara aia i te tu, no te tangata i te kai anga i taua Takurua nana rā, i reira te kite aia i tetai tangata

/3 kua uri pu iaia i te kai anga kua kika i taua kou kanaē i te pae o te aro no taua tangata tei te pae ko te tua tei te pae o te tika anga o te takurua kua kite aia e, ko te kino, teia o te na mangaia

Tera taua tangata rā ko Arepeē no reira i karangaia [Ti ??][12] i te koi a arepee

kua kite a Ngauta e, o te kino. teia i te na au e no reira i katia i te kao i tena ui, tera te aite anga te inangaro rā a arepeē ei iaia taua mangaia o Ngauta ra ko te tuatua tena no arepeē otira ua taku ngai i kite.

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[10] The phrase 'e te moko' is a scribal addition. In the MS it is placed above 'kua riri aia'. The present position is conjectural.

[11] The phrase 'i te raumaika' is a scribal addition to the text. The present position is conjectural.

[12] The word in brackets is unclear in the MS. It has not been translated in the English version of this story.

(ii) Translation:

Ngauta had planted a plot of *u'i*. One day he went to look at their progress. He was pleased with his plot of yams.

One day he went again to look upon them and saw that the buds and leaves had been bitten off. He was angry and thought to himself that he would discover the evil-doer.

He prepared a large feast. He went and fetched the large host under his reign as well as the lesser men, the women and the many children.

(He) told them, 'They were to prepare a feast'. The *poke* was grated. The *mamio* was lifted out. (They) climbed up the coconut tree. (They) cut the bananas. Once that was done the food was heaped together.

The people were divided off. One party grated the *poke*. One party lit the ovens. One party went to get the fish. The fish was called mullet. Back at home the fish was baked in banana leaves ('raumaika'). Then the feast was gathered together and eaten. Amidst the eating the man in whom resided the *mangaia* went to the end of the feast. He looked at the different people eating the feast. He observed a person turn abruptly away from the meal. The baked mullet had been placed in front of the man. The rear was more usual at a feast.

(Ngauta) recognised that this wrong concerned the reign. That person was Arepe'e. Thus it is said 'The quickness of Arepe'e'. Ngauta recognised that this wrong concerned the reign and for that reason the buds of the yam had been bitten off. That is the explanation. Arepe'e desired to have the mangaia of Ngauta. That is the story about Arepe'e. That is the portion which I know.

Manuscript D: chapter twelve.

(i) Te Purukianga i rotopu ia Te Uanuku e Akatara

O tetai purukianga ngao teia i tupu ana i runga i Auau enua nei i te tuatau taito, o te taua i raveia ai teia purukianga o Tapatiu tei te puna Keia teia taua purukianga, o teia

purukianga o tetai purukianga rikarika teia i raveia i taua tuatau, o te purukianga katoa teia i raveia i te po e te ao, teia purukianga ua raveia tetai anga, koia oki e oro poke o te oro a te ui tupuna i te tuatau taito e koatu tei roto i te tai teia koatu teia ta to matou ai tupuna ingoa i teia koatu e aravai ia raveia teia purukianga ua oroa te tangata i runga i te oro, teia nga kopu tangata na raua teia purukianga o Ngariki e te Ngati Amama o Te Uanuku te toa o te kopu o Amama o Akatara te toa o te kopu Ngariki, ua raveia teia purukianga na roto i te ririnui tangata ua oro na mua te poke me tuoro a Te Uanuku i teia tuoro ra-te-pipira-e-mau ua kite ua tona vaka tangata e eaa ta ratou ka rave, mau ake koe i taau tangata oro i runga i te oro o teia purukianga are e apinga tamaki i oroa te tangata i runga i te aravai. O Raumea ra no tona ririnui ua tamata aia i te puke e rua tangata i te taime o tai, inara ua ora tetai tangata ua mate o tai tangata i-a kite te taokete o Raumea e ua ora tetai tangata a Raumea teia te ingoa o te taokete o Raumea ma o Kanune, ua rave katoa mai aia i tana e rua tangata ua oro i runga i te oro, teia tana ia kakaro ua mate e rua tangata o tai oroanga i runga i te aravai o te taokete o Raumea o Kanune nana teia tara kakaro ra e Rau i te ao o te uki, teia tara na Kanune no roto i teia purukianga tei raveia i roto i te puna Keia i runga i te taua o Tapatiu o teia purukianga are e apinga tamaki teia te apinga tamaki e oro e te ririnui tangata, no reira ua riro teia ei puruki anga rikarika i runga i Auau enua nei, ua aite te kopapa tangata mai te mamio tei oroia ei poke inara o teia tara na Kanune ua riro rava teia ei ivi mangaika i roto i te ngakau o Raumea no te mea ua akama aia i teia tara o te tumu katoa i tara ai a Kanune i teia tara ia Raumea no tona akama i runga i te keinga manga me kaikai ratou teia te tara a teia nga tamariki o Te Uanuku e Raumea maumau ua te kou poke ia kai Kanune e nga tamariki angai a to raua metua o Mautara, i te ai kaikai anga ka tara ua rai teia nga tamariki i teia tara, i runga i te keinga manga, tera tetai a raua eaa e taua tetai.

O teia nga tara a teia nga tamariki ua vai ua i roto ia Kanune e tae ua mai i te ra i raveia ai teia purukianga o te ra teia i akakite ai aia ia raua i te ririnui e te maroiroi i

taua kou poke tana i kai ana i te au ra i topa i muri ei akakite katoa ia raua e e taua ta taua kou poke ra i teia nei o teia purukianga o tai rai tangata i ora ana i to te Ngariki ua autu te kopu o Amama o teia tangata i ora mai no roto ia Ngariki teia tona ingoa o Tauara ia kite aia e ua pau to ratou pupu ua oro aia ua kimi i tetai ora nona, ia tae atu aia i tuopapa ua ua tuoro atu aia i te pia atua ia Tuokura, teia tana tuoro e tuao-i ua pau oa te kere i tapatiu, teia te pau mai a te atua, tauna ea o taringa i te ai te karanga ia atura koe e auaa e aere ua oro atua a Tauara e tae atu i te Ruakeretonga, ua tuoro, atu aia i te pia atua ia Paia, e paio - - - i ua pau oa te kere i tapatiu teia te pau mai a paia tauna ea o taringa i te ai i reira ua aere atu aia i Ivirua ua noo i roto i te makatea na Tauara i akakite e uapou Ngariki i te puruki, na roto i tona reo tuoro ua pau te kere i tapatiu o te openga rai tena o teia tua me inangaro a kotou i tetai teia te tara a to matou ui tupuna ei ai kavere.

(i) Annotated translation:

The Battle between Te Uanuku and Akatara

This was a great battle that occurred in A'ua'u [Mangaia] during the ancient days. The battle was fought at Tapatiu in the Kei'a district. This was a horrible battle. All those battles were carried out at night and in the day. This battle involved a task, namely, grating *poke.*

In the old days the ancestors used a stone from the sea for grating. The name of the stone was *aravai.* In this battle people were grated upon the grater. The tribes involved were Ngariki and Ngati 'Āmama. Te Uanuku was the warrior of 'Āmama and Akatara the warrior of Ngariki. The battle was a show of physical strength.

Before the *poke* was grated Te Uanuku called out, 'There is the *pipi* [mussel shell], Grab!' ('ra-te-pipira-e-mau'). His tribe knew what they were to do. You grab your man (and) grate (him) upon the grater. No weapons were used in this battle. The people were grated upon the *aravai*. Raumea, due to his strength, dragged two victims at one time. One was alive, the other dead. When Raumea's brother-in-law saw that one of Raumea's men was alive--the brother-in-law was called Kanune--he took two men and grated them upon the grater. When he had seen that the two men were killed at one time (by being) grated upon the grater, Kanune, Raumea's brother-in-law called out, 'O Rau, look at the strength of the youth' ('kakaro ra e Rau i te ao o te uki').

Kanune said this in the midst of the battle fought in Kei'a, on the battle field at Tapatiu. There were no weapons in the battle, the weapons used in this battle were the grater and men's strength. Hence it became a horrible battle, the bodies of men became like taro grated as *poke*.

Kanune's utterance became like a fishbone in the heart of Raumea, because he was ashamed.[13] Kanune had spoken in this way to Raumea because of his own shame at the feasts they had eaten. Te Uanuku and Raumea would always say, 'the cooked *poke* was utterly wasted when eaten by Kanune and the other adopted children of their father Mautara at the cooking fire'.[14] These children always said this at a feast. Another (saying) of theirs was 'Which battle?' ('eaa e taua tetai').[15] Those sayings by the children stayed with Kanune until the day of this battle. On that day he showed the strength and vigour he had acquired from the baked *poke* which he had eaten in past days. (He) told them 'Your baked *poke* is the site of this battle'.[16]

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[13] Papa Aratangi noted that the fishbone refers to the pain Raumea felt upon hearing Kanune's statement. A characteristically vivid use of imagery by Tereevangeria Aratangi. Aratangi to author, 21 March 1989.

[14] A similar phrase is used by Mautara's sons to disparage Mana'une, their adoptive brother. MP.

[15] Papa Aratangi has suggested that this phrase referred to the lack of battle experience on the part of Kanune and the other adopted children. By extension they were a drain on the tribe's food resources. Aratangi to author, 21 March 1989.

[16] Papa Aratangi has suggested that Kanune was emphasising that the food he had been eating was not wasted. It had given him the strength to prove himself on the field of battle as a warrior. Aratangi to author, 21 March 1989.

Only one man survived from those Ngariki. The 'Āmama family was victorious. This Ngariki survivor was called Tauara. He knew that their party was vanquished. He fled for his life. When he reached Tuopapa he called to the *pi'a atua*, Tuokura, 'O Tuao, the *kere* [tribe?] has been utterly vanquished at Tapatiu. The *atua* replied, 'Cook your ears in the fire, you were told not to go'.[17] Tauara fled until Ruakeretonga, he called out to the *pi'a atua*, Paia, 'Oh Paio, the *kere* has been utterly vanquished at Tapatiu'. Paia replied, 'Cook your ears in the fire'.

Tauara then went to Ivirua and stayed on the *makatea*. He made known Ngariki's fight, he called out, 'The *kere* has been utterly vanquished at Tapatiu'. That is this story. If you desire another this is the comment of our ancestors, 'that is the *ai kavere*' ('ei ai kavere').[18]

(ii) Te Tua i te Mateanga o Te Uanuku

Te are vaine i Keia o Kuramoemoe te ingoa,
Te Uanuku
Raei
Nga vaine a Raei
Kikau
O te aronga teia i roto i teia tua.

O Te Uanuku e tamaiti na Mautara o ta Mautara tamaiti mua teia, e noo ana ratou i roto i te puna o Veitatei i te tuatau taito. Ia tae i te tai ra ua manako a Te Uanuku ka aere aia a ori aere ua tu aia i te popongi ua aere atu aia i roto i te puna i Keia, ia tae atu aia

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[17] Papa Aratangi noted that before going into battle a priest was consulted. In this particular case the Ngāriki had failed to heed the priest's advice and were being roundly cursed for their desastrous oversight. Letter to author, 21 March 1989.

[18] The phrase refers to a special meal deemed appropriate when *'are korero* met to discuss history and traditional lore. It was provided by the host at whose house the meeting was taking place. MangS, 138.

i reira ua akarongo aia i te maeva kata a te au vaine i roto i te are karioi e te tangi tutuanga a te au vaine tutu parai mangu o te ingoa o teia are vaine o te puaimatareka ua tapae atu aia i roto i teia are vaine ia tae atu a Te Unauku i roto i te are te tangi nei au tutunga a te au vaine te ura nei tetai au mapu vaine te mira nei te tai pae, tei roto i teia au vaine nei nga vaine a Raei e rua te tutu parai mangu nei, o te au tane i te r[e]ira tuatau ua mau ia ratou te tangi tutunga a ta ratou vaine i to Te Uanuku tae anga i roto i te are e rua vaine i motu ta raua tangi tutunga o nga vaine a Raei ua kite katoa a Raei e ua kore te tangi tutunga a tena nga are rau, ua tupu te riri Raei ua kite meitaki aia e o Te Uanuku to roto i te are vaine, are atu e tangata e tae i roto i te are vaine mari e toa. Teia ta Raei i rave ua aere atu aia i Ivirua i te kimi rave a ia mate a [Te Uanuku][19] no tona vareae. Ua pati atu aia i tona taokete ia Kikau ia tauturu iaia, teia ta raua korero ka akatupu raua i tetai tupe anga i runga i te taua tupe o Kamū o te tai taua tupe teia i roto i te puna Ivirua o Kamū o nga tamariki oki a Mautara o ta raua tamataora inangaro rava atu teia are raua e inangaro e ia mau te puku o tetai tangata ka inangaro ra raua o raua ua ake ia akarongo a Te Uanuku e te tupe maira a Ivirua ua akaruke atu i te are vaine ua aere atu aia i Ivirua i te tupeke i te puku o Raei are ra aia i kite e, e ravenga teia ia mate aia, ia tae atu aia i roto i te puna teia tana tuoro oai tera e kanga i tau kaaraara patia rava tana taiki i tetai poo o te taua. Te tapine nei te vaine ia Raei noona oki te puku teia ta ratou tuoro, aere mai ra e ratou ua mau ōā te puku o Raei i reira ua akamata raua i te tupe ua Kaaraara are i roa ua peke te puku o Raei ia Te Unanuku, teia ta ratou tuoro aere mai e ratou ua mau oa te puku o Te Uanuku ia tupe teia tupe anga e toru po e toru ao are a Te Uanuku i moe ana ua tiaki mai tona teina o Raumea ua roa to Te Uanuku aere anga ua aere katoa aia ua atoro aere i tona tuakana ia tae atu aia i Ivirua e mamaiata te tupe nei rai a Te Uanuku ia uri mai a Te Uanuku o Raumea teia e tu i muri iaia teia tana tara ia Raumea e Rau na kore mai e ai koe i tau puku e a tae te ra i tavaikura o ka aere ana au a kirimata. Teia tara e kirimata e moe ka aere a moe, i reira ua [a]ere[20] atu a Te Uanuku

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[19] The typescript spells this name Tuanuku.

[20] The typescript spells ‘ua aere’ as ‘uaere’.

i uta i te ngai i tuai te are vaine o te ingoa o teia are vaine o Kuramoemoe ua oti oki ia Raei i te akaporoporo ia Kikau e, e ta ia Te Uanuku. Ua noo Kikau i te pae i te kauvai i te tiaki mai ia tae atu a Te Uanuku i te pae kauvai ua eke aia i raro i te kauvai ua taipu mai aia i te vai i roto i tona kapu rima ua unu aia no tona kaki vai i taua taime rai ua patia atu a Kikau i tana taiki na muri i tona tua pupu rava i mua i te ate o Te Uanuku ua mau mai a Te Uanuku i te taiki a Kikau ua kiriti no roto iaia ua atiati e toru potonga o tona maroiroi openga rai tena ua topa aia i raro ua mate rava, are i tae ana i roto i te are vaine ua noo a Raumea i runga i te taua tupe e tae ua atu te ra i runga i te maunga ua urirui a Raumea ua tae oki te taime tana i karanga e, e tae te ra i tavaikura ua upu te ra i teia nei ua tiaki ngata te teina i tona tuakana ua akaruku a Raumea i te tupe ua aere atu na te pae kauvai ua poiri oki, ua kite atu aia i te kopapa o tona tuakana ua mate, ua rave aia i te kopapa o Te Uanuku ua apai i runga i te maunga, ua tuku i runga i te maunga teia te ingoa o teia ngai i taporo ai a Raumea i tona tuakana o Nukino.

Ua aere atu aia i Veitatei i te tiki i to raua metua ia Mautara e tona kopu tangata i taua po rai, ua aere mai a Mautara i te tiki i tana tamaiti ia Te Uanuku, ia popongi ake ua aere mai a Mautara i Ivirua i te atoro aere i te mate anga i tana tamaiti teia tana tuoro Ō - - - - i o au oa tera e tu i te tau ngaru i koro[r]areka,[21] o te ra e iti o -----o au ia, o te ra e opu ō ----- o au ia ia akarongo te au tangata o roto i te puna i teia tuoro ua mataku ratou, ta ratou i rave ua kimi ratou i te tangata nana i ta ia Te Uanuku me kitea ka apai i ko ia Mautara ei tutaki i te mate o tana tamaiti, o te aiteanga oki i te ō a Mautara e tamaki ka aere mai aia ka tamaki ei tutaki i te mate o tana tamiti. Ua kitea mai i reira te tangata nana teia. Te ingoa o taua tangata ra o Kikau e taokete no Raei. Na Raei oki aia i akakoro e taia, Te Uanuku. I reira ua apai atu a Kikau i mua ia Mautara, ua kimi ia tana utunga teia te tika a Mautara ka mate a Kikau. Nana tikai e ta ei tutaki i tana tamaiti i tona mate ka kaikai ora ua ia i te koe. Ia tae i te ra ka mate ei Kikau ua apai ia atu i mua ia Mautara ua rave mai a Mautara i tana koe ua kai atu i tetai mangamanga

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[21] The typescript misspelt this word as Korovarieka. Papa Aratangi provided the corrected reading. Aratangi to author, 21 March 1989.

rima o Kikau. Teia te uianga a Mautara ia Kiakau uianga ia au tama ra, teia te pauanga a Kikau oro mau ua ē ---------ia Raei i kaikai ora ua ia a Kikau e Mautara e mate uatu aia.

O te tua tena i te mateanga o Te Uanuku e te tutaki anga a Mautara i te mate o tana tamaiti.

(ii) Annotated translation:

The Story of the Death of Te Uanuku

The woman's house in Kei'a was called Kuramoemoe

Te Uanuku

Raei

The (two) women of Raei

Kikau

These are the people in this story.

Te Uanuku was the first born child of Mautara. They resided in Veitatei. One day Te Uanuku decided to go sightseeing. He got up in the morning and went to Kei'a. When he reached there he heard women laughing loudly inside the entertainment house[22] and the sound of women beating the traditional cloth. The name of the women's house was Puaimatareka. He called in at this women's house. The sound of the beating filled the house with sweet sounds. Some young women were performing the *mira* dance.[23]

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[22] The term 'are karioi' = 'entertainment house' is described by Savage, 89, as a place specially made for dances 'and other tribal amusements'. He added that 'it was a place wherein great revelry was held, where all ceremonial dances were first rehearsed'. In Mangareva such houses (*are karioi* or *are popi*) were occupied by unmarried women who entertained male visitors with song and dance and slept with them if it pleased. Koskinen, 49--50. Mangaian practice was different from Mangareva. Gill believed that young unmarried men on Mangaia lived in club houses while the young unmarried women lived with their parents. WWG to S.E. Peal, 26 May 1894, PS 1187/113 Peal, S.E. Correspondence. This arrangement would not prevent women such as Raei's wives working together in a communal building as this story suggests.

The two wives of Raei were in the house beating cloth. In those times husbands knew the sound of their wives beating. When Te Uanuku entered inside the house the sound of the two wives beating ended. Raei realised that there was no longer any sound from his wives beating.[24] Raei became angry. He well knew that Te Uanuku was inside the women's house. No man was able to enter the women's house save for warriors.[25]

Because of his jealousy Raei went to Ivirua to find a way to kill Te Uanuku. He asked his brother-in-law, Kikau, to help him. This was what they discussed. They would play a game of *tupe* (quoits) at a *tupe* playing arena. Kamū was one of the *tupe* playing arenas in Ivirua. Kamū belonged to the two children of Mautara. Their intention was to play, they did not want anyone else to win, just the two of them.[26]

When Te Uanuku heard that (they) were playing *tupe* in Ivirua (he) left the house of women and went to Ivirua, to beat ('ite tupeke ite puku') Raei. He did not know this was a plot to kill him. When he arrived in the district he called out 'Who is this who claims to be the champion of my game?'[27] He thrust his spear into one of the sides of the arena. The women were praising Raei and his victory, saying 'Come, Raei is winning'. They (Raei and Te Uanuku) began to play *tupe*. It was not long before Raei lost to Te

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[23] Papa Aratangi explained that in this dance women used to sit down with their legs folded. They clapped their hands on their thighs and chanted. The sexual suggestiveness of this dance form is quite obvious. Aratangi to author, 21 March 1989.

[24] The Mangaian term for wife in this passage 'are rau' was a poetical form found in songs. See **DL**, 159. Gill explained the term as meaning a 'well thatched house,--where [the husband's] affections repose', i.e. the wife. **M&S**, 63.

[25] In other words, Raei knew Te Uanuku was in the house because only warriors could enter. The greatest warrior was of course the *mangaia*.

[26] This passage is slightly obscure. I have based my translation on the reading by Papa Aratangi. The Mangaian original reads: 'O ta raua tamataora inangaro rava atu teia are raua e inangaro e ia mau te puku o tetai tangata ka inangaro ra raua o raua ua ake'. Aratangi to author, 21 March 1989.

[27] The Mangaian reads 'oai tera e kanga i tau kaaraara'. The word 'kaaraara' is difficult to translate and I have relied upon an interpretation of the entire passage by Papa Aratangi. Aratangi to author, 21 March 1989.

Uanuku. Te Uanuku was winning. The women praised Te Uanuku, saying 'Come, Te Uanuku is winning'.

This game of *tupe* continued for three nights and three days. Te Uanuku did not sleep. His younger brother Raumea waited (for him). Te Uanuku took a long time to come. He (Raumea) went looking for his older brother. When he reached Ivirua morning had come. Te Uanuku was still playing *tupe*. When Te Uanuku turned round, Raumea was standing behind him, he said to Raumea, 'O Rau, take my place and win till the sun reaches Tavaikura. I will go and sleep ('kirimata')'.[28] This word *kirimata*, (means) to sleep, to go to sleep. Te Uanuku went inland to the place where a women's house stood. The house was called Kuramoemoe.

Raei completed giving parting instructions to Kikau, to kill Te Uanuku. Kikau sat at the side of the stream waiting for the arrival of Te Uanuku at the stream's edge. He descended into the stream. He scooped out the water in the palm of his hand to slake his thirst ('no tona kaki vai'). At that moment Kikau thrust his spear from behind his back. It entered the liver of Te Uanuku. Te Uanuku caught the spear of Kikau, removed it and broke it into three pieces with a final show of vigour. He fell down dead, he did not reach the women's house. Raumea stayed on the *tupe* playing arena until the sun reached Tavaikura.

Raumea turned about. The time had come which was spoken of. The sun reached Tavaikura and set. The younger brother waited impatiently ('ngata') for his elder brother. Raumea swooped into the *tupe*. (He) went by the edge of the stream. It was getting dark. He saw the body of his elder brother; dead. He picked up Te Uanuku's body and carried it up to the mountain. He left it on the mountain. The name of this place where Raumea deposited his elder brother was Nukino.

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[28] Papa Aratangi points out that Tavaikura is the place where it was believed the sun set. Aratangi to author, 21 March 1989. The Mangaian phrase 'e Rau na kora mai e ai koe i tau puku e a tae te ra i tavaikura' should be compared to a phrase ascribed to the *ariki pa uta*, Rau'ue: 'E 'ai koe e Rau e tae atu te ra i runga ia Tava'i-kura' (TeRH: 'O Rau, chant until the sun rests on Tavai-kura'). MangS, 184.

He went to Veitatei to fetch their father, Mautara, and his tribe that very night. Mautara went to fetch his child, Te Uanuku. It was night when Mautara came to Ivirua looking for the place his child died. This was his call: 'I stand in the choppy ocean at Kororareka. The sun that rises I am there. The sun that sets I am there'.[29]

When the people in the district heard this call they were afraid. They began to seek out the person who had killed Te Uanuku. When discovered (they) would bring him before Mautara as compensation for the death of his child. The meaning of Mautara's call (was that there would be) a fight.[30] He would come and fight as compensation for the death of his child.

The man who had done this (deed) was discovered. The name of that man was Kikau, the brother-in-law of Raei. Raei and he had plotted to kill Te Uanuku. Then Kikau was brought before Mautara who sought vengeance. Mautara was correct in killing Kikau. It was he who would be killed as compensation for his child's death. He was cut up with bamboo. When the day came for Kikau to die he was brought before Mautara. Mautara took his bamboo (knife) and cut off one of Kikau's fingers. This was the question Mautara put to Kikau: 'Why my son?' This was Kikau's reply, as (he was) being cut (?), 'Misled by Raei'. Kikau was sliced up while alive by Mautara till he died.

That was the story of the death of Te Uanuku and Mautara's satisfaction for the death of his child.

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[29] Papa Aratangi notes that Kororareka is misspelt in the typescript as Korovareka. It refers to a place in the ocean. Aratangi to author, 21 March 1989.

[30] Papa Aratangi suggested that Kororareka may have had some symbolic meaning, referring to the threatened battle. Aratangi to author, 21 March 1989.

APPENDIX D: AN EXAMPLE OF GILL'S EDITING:
'E EVA, NA TEINAAKIA, NO TE MATE IA TUAOPAPA'

There are five manuscript versions of this song. Three of them are only in Mangaian; the other two include an English translation. The three Mangaian-only texts all appear to be in Mamae's hand. The authorship of the two texts containing an English translation is less certain. One of them may have been written by George Gill or William Wyatt Gill. The other is definitely in Wyatt Gill's hand. I have adopted an abbreviation to distinguish between each text. These signs and the manuscripts' archival sources and titles are listed below:

M1= **G 45**, no title, first line: 'Ka ano au a motu i tau ivi ...'.

M2= SSSP Newell 9, 'E Eva, na Teinaakia, no te Mate ia Tuaopapa'.

M3= SSSP Newell 9, 'E Eva, na Teinaakia, no te Mate ia Tauopapa'.

E1= SSSP Newell 9, 'War Dirge for Tuopapa's Mimic Battle. By his nephew Teinaakia ... '. This text may have been written by George Gill or William Wyatt Gill.

E2= SSSP Newell 9, 'A Dirge for Tuopapa by his Nephew Teinaakia'. This text is written by WWG.

M1 and **M3** are arranged in a prose format. **M2** includes information on the song and introductions to the sung parts. The Mangaian and English texts in **E1** and **E2** are arranged in parallel columns. **E1** also includes introductions to the sung parts.

Only parts of the Mangaian song text were ever published by Wyatt Gill, appearing in at least four different places in **DL**, 48, 80--82, 87, 97--98. This was Gill's most radical piece of editorial work. He generally either reproduced his indigenous texts or carried out a few alterations in the arrangement or spelling of words and song lines. On rare occasions he would add verses not in the MS. Gill's editorial changes in this particular instance became the subject of critical comment by Mamae himself.[1]

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[1] **Mi 131, 132,** Mamaerua [Mamae], note to [Gill], n.d.

Parts of WWG's **E2** text are marked off from each other by ruled lines. These sections correspond to the excerpts published in **DL**; they incorporate annotations by Gill respecting the sections' placement in **DL**.

Given the number of texts, the unusual nature of Gill's editing and the fact that portions of it have not been published, an attempt will be made to identify all the differences between the **DL** text and the MSS. Line numbers are taken from the **DL** text. Continuations of lines are not counted separately. The first quotation is the **DL** version; this is followed by the significant variants in the MSS. **E1** only contains the text for **DL**, 80--82.

DL, 80:

l. 1: 'Ka ano au e momotu i taū ivi ei ō noku'=
M1 'motu'; **M2, M3** 'Ka ano oa au'

l. 2: 'Noou tera autua, ... noku tera'= **M1, M2, M3** 'nooku tera'

After l. 4 'Oro mai' **M1** inserts: 'e tara ua no kora'tu no tai pa'u'.

l. 5: 'Na te arekorero ...'= **M3** 'na te Arekorero ō'

P. 81

ll. 1--3 follow in **E1, M1, M2**. They do not appear in this position in **E2, M3**. l. 2 'runga' = **E1, M1** 'nunga'; **M2** 'runga'

l. 4 'Ie ui atu ...' = **M1** 'Ie ui ao'

M1 then inserts line: 'ia kite ai ta te ropā au tara'

M1 then inserts **DL,** 80 ll. 4--5 after 'Oro mai'

l. 5 'I ana mai ïa i te aa ō'= **E1** 'I ana mai i te aa ō?'
l. 6 'i aaki i te tamaki'= **E2, M1** 'i āki i te tamaki'; **M2** 'i āki te tamaki'; **M3** 'i āki i te tamaki'

l. 7 'Te kotikoti a tuna ia maira ...'= **E1** 'Te kokoti ...'; **E2** 'Te kokoti a tunaia ...'

l. 8 ' ... tena oa te veu, teia toku taeake'= **M1, M2** 'tena oa te veū teia to oku taeake'; **M3** '... te veu teia to oku taeake'

l. 9 'Koai toou taeake i aakina'i koe?'= **E2, M1, M3** 'Oai toou taeake i ākina'i koe?'; **M2** 'Koai ...'

l. 10 'O Tekaraka te toā'= **M1** 'O te karaka te toâ'

l. 11 'Ae, ua kite ia i te maro?'= **E1** 'Ae, ua kite ïa i te măro?'; **E2, M1--3** 'Ae, ua kite ïa i te maro?'

l. 12 'Ae, te taeko'= **E2** 'taeko!'; **M1** 'taekō'; **M2** 'taēkō'; **M3** 'Āe te taekō'

l. 13 ‘Ae, e amo oa ... ia ta’= **M2** ‘Ae e āmo’; **M3** ‘Āe e āmo ... ia tā’

l. 14 ‘Aitoa korua ia ta!’= **E2** ‘Aitoa korua kia ta’; **M3** ‘Aitoa korua ia tā’

M1 adds unpublished lines: ‘Oai te ume i te maro? O Ruaika oa o Manini i Teruakeretonga. Ae ka aere ai au ki te mate?’

l. 15 ‘E Tengaungau ōi, e tu ra, umea to maro’= **E2, M3** ‘E Tengaungau oi e tu ra i vao/ Umea to maro ...’

l. 16 ‘Inapo nei ua koe!’= **E2** ‘inapo nei. Kua aa koe?’; **M3** ‘inapo nei uā koe!’

l. 17 ‘Tera te ivi o Tongaiti ei ngaere ia Tutavake’= **E2, M3** ‘Tera te ivi o Tongaiti ei vaere ia Tutavake’

l. 18 ‘... ei kave i te puruki!’= **M1--3** ‘ei kave ake i te puruki’

l. 19 ‘Iekōkō!’= **M1, M2** ‘Iēkoko-koko!’

l. 20 ‘Era a pia te kaū o Tutavake’= **E2** ‘Era a pia te kau ...’; **M2** ‘āpia te kaū’

l. 21 ‘Ei taeva i te rangi tao’= **E2, M3** ‘Ei paera i te rangi tao’

l. 22 ‘Ka eva Ngariki i te Moreikau’= **M1--3** ‘ka eva ngariki i Temoreikau’

P. 82

l. 1 ‘ka riro oki te taeko’= **E1** ‘... i te taeko’; **M1, M2** ‘a riro oki i te taekō’; **M3** ‘ka riro oki i te taekō’

l. 2 ‘Ka ta i te ivi roa ...’= **M1, M2** ‘a ta ...’; **M3** ‘a tā ...’

ll. 3--6 are only found in this position in **E1**; all the other texts insert the material found in **DL**, 97--98.

P. 97--98 continues MS text.

l. 2 ‘Ua tae Rongo’= **M2** ‘ua tae Rono’

l. 3 ‘... e uaki i te parai’= **M1, M2** ‘i uaki te parai’; **M3** ‘e uaki te parai’

l. 4 ‘No Rongo tera autua’= **M2** ‘... autua ō’

l. 5 ‘No Tonga-iti tera auaro’= **M1, M2** ‘no Tongaiti tera auāro’

l. 6 ‘... i Teikuari’= **M1--3** ‘... i Teikuere’

l. 7 ‘... i te opunga o te rā’= **M1--3** ‘i te opungā i te rā’

l. 8 ‘na kai-tamua’= **E2, M1--3** ‘na kai tamua’

l. 10 ‘Taumaa i te uru i te tokotoko ei vaerua toa’= **M1--3** ‘taumaa te uru’; **M1** ‘ei vaerua toā’

P. 98

l. 1 ‘Taina ra’= **M1** ‘teinā rā’; **M2, M3** ‘tāina ra’

l. 2 ‘Ka aranga oki Teipe i te ivi vaia ō!’= **M1** ‘a Āranga oki Teipē’; **M2** ‘a aranga oki Teipē i te ivi vāia ō’; **M3** ‘Ka āranga oki Teipē i te ivi vāia o’

l. 3 ‘E varu ata i te patiakā’= **M1** ‘e varu mata i te pāpuaka’; **M2** ‘e varu mata i te papuaka’

l. 4 ‘I koa’i, i kiritia ...’= **E2** ‘I koia’i’; **M1** ‘i kō ïa’i’; **M2, M3** ‘i kō ia’i’

ll. 5--6 ‘Te aoa mai na tai/ Na tangi ravakau’= **M1, M2** ‘na Tangiravakau’; **E2, M3** ‘Te aoa mai na tangi rakau/ na tangi ravakau’

l. 7 ‘Taumaa Tevaki i te paratao ō!’= **M2** ‘... i te parataō’; **M3** ‘i te parătaō ō’

l. 8 ‘Kāreia!’= **M2, M3** ‘Kāreïa’

l. 10 ‘Ei kona rā Tirango e pa’i’= **M1, M2** ‘ei kona oa Tirango e pā’i’; **E2, M3** ‘Ei kona rā Tirango e pā’i’

l. 11 ‘Aue te pa moa ē!’= **E2** ‘Aue te pamoa e!’; **M1, M2** ‘aue te pāmoa ē’; **M3** ‘aue te pāmoa e’

l. 12 ‘Era te mataati’= **M1, M2** ‘E ra ...’

ll. 13--14 ‘Ka peke iia, E Paia, teia kopu,--/ Teia vakanui taae’= **M1** ‘Ka peke i ïa ... vakanui tāāe’; **M2** ‘Ka peke ïa’; **E2, M3** ‘Ka peke iïa’

l. 15 ‘Ka ati iia? Ka oro iia?= **M1** ‘Ka ati ïa ka oro ī ia’; **M2** ‘Ka ati ïa Ka oro ïa’; **M3** ‘... i ia ... i ia’

l. 17 ‘I nunga i tai motu putaonga’tu’= **M1** ‘ei nunga tai motu’; **M2** ‘ei runga i tai motu’; **M3** ‘e nunga i tai motu’

l. 19 ‘I te ara tuaririki’= **M1--3** ‘i Tearatuaririki’

l. 20 ‘Tueruia atu Rongo’= **M1, M2** ‘Tueru ia ’tu Rongo’

l. 21 ‘Ia tu a papa tavaki i te kopunga rā’= **M1, M2** ‘ia tuā pāpa Tavake’; **M3** ‘ia tuā păpā Tavake i te kopunga rā’; **E2** ‘... a păpă tavake ...’

l. 22 ‘I te avatea; oe mate io, oe ora atu’= **M1** ‘... oe ora’tu’; **E2** repeats the last part of the previous line ‘Nga rā’ before ‘i te avatea’

l. 23 ‘Ka ao Tutavake ...’= **M1, M2** ‘ka oro Tutavake ...’

The MSS now continue the text in **DL**, 82 ll. 3--6.

The MS texts are then continued on **DL**, 48.

l. 1 ‘Pokia ... te tāuna i Puamātā’= **E2, M3** ‘tauna’; **Mi, M2** ‘taūna’

l. 2 ‘... pokia e! Era tokovaru!= **E2** ‘pokia ē’; **M1** ‘e ra toko varu’

l. 3 ‘Kua pau ua te tāuna o Tekama’= **M1** ‘Ua pau ... te taūna o te Kama’; **M2, M3** ‘Ua pau ... tauna o te Kama’

l. 4 ‘I te umu Aitu’= **M1--3** ‘i Teumuaitu’

l. 5 'Takina ...'= **M2** 'tākina ...'

l. 6 'A ngaa te kano i te kava'= **M1** 'a ngaā te kano i te kava'; **M2** 'a ngaa te kano i vaka'

l. 7 'A mate! a mate!!'= **E2** 'A mate a mate!'; **M1, M2** 'ā mate ā mate'; **M3** 'a mate a mate'

l. 8 'Rumakina e! Era tokoiva!'= **E2, M3** 'Rumakina ē'; **M1, M2** 'rumakina ē, era toko iva'

l. 9 'Kua pau ua te tauna'= **E2, M3** 'Ua pau ua te tauna'; **M1, M2** 'Ua pau ua te taūna'

l. 10 'I te umu Aitu'= **M1--3** 'i Teumuaitu'

DL, 87 follows in the MSS.

l. 3 'i rauka'i tona ariki'= **M1--3** 'i rauka'i toona Ariki'

After l. 3 **M1** and **M2** add an unpublished line: 'i motu ai tauna tamaki'.

l. 4 'i ana-nui'= **E2** 'ana nui'; **M1, M2** 'i pau ai te taūna i Ananui'; **M3** 'i pau ai te tauna i Ananui'

l. 5 'Era ei ia Rongo Mangaia'= **M1** 'e ra ei a Rongo mangaia'; **M2** 'e ra eia Rongo mangaia'; **M3** 'era eia Rongo mangaia'

l. 6 'Kokii o te toa'= **M1, M2** 'Kokiia te toa'

l. 7 'a motu o Teipe'= **M1--3** 'a motu o Tepei'

l. 8 'A motu o Paia, era tumangamanga'= **M1, M2** 'a motu e Paia e ra tumangamanga'

l. 11 '... tera peiaa'= **M3** 'terā peiaa'

l. 13 'Na tera eretonga e mau Mangaia na Tekea'= **M1, M2** 'na Terāeretonga'; **M3** 'na te rā eretonga'

l. 14 'E kapa rakau ...'= **E2** 'Ei kapa ...'; **M1** 'ei kapa rakau'

l. 15 'Ei au ngangare'= **M2** 'ei Aungāngāre'

l. 16 'Aore e tainga miro i teia'= **M2** 'Aore i taingā miro i teia ē'

l. 17 'E ta Turanga e ta Teipe'= **E2, M1--3** 'Teipē'

l. 18 'Porutu i te rangi tao'= **M1, M2** 'porutua te rangi'

l. 21 'Ua ka te ngakau'= **M1--3** 'Ua kā'

The last part of the song is not reproduced in **DL**. The following text reproduces Gill's draft Mangaian text and his English translation. Variants in the **M** texts are noted below the song excerpt.

E2:

Kotia Tongaiti	Chop down the Tongan tribe
Paria i te toki era mau toa	With your axes cleave the skulls of those brave men
Kapiti Tangiia o Tetuma raua	The fate of the Tangiia and Tetuma tribes is fixed
I pau ai te umu koka tei Āriki	Feasting at Āriki they were surprised [and] slain
O nga toa, o nga maori	The bravest and the strongest
O nga taae, o nga taurekareka	The [------] and the greatest
Paoa i te tu aronga i Teaupapa	Fell on the red soil of Teaupapa
A para tana kako	In full battle array
A tangi tana rakau	The spears clashed each other
Koia atu, taeiia mai	Thrusting and warding off
Naai i karanga atu ē e taporo?	No quarter was given to the conquered?
Ua pa e; ua pau ua; o nga toe	Crushed [and] used, a few only survived;--
O nga toe i ora. Era a pao te puruki	A very few escaped out of the fight
Ua pau te aô, e Ngauta	O Ngauta, my strength is exhausted!

The variants in the **M** texts are,

l. 2 **M1** 'e ra mautoa'; **M2** 'era mautoa
l. 3 **M1--3** '... o te Tuma ...'
l. 4 **M1** '... te umu kōkā ...'; **M2** 'te umu kokā'
l. 7 **M1, M2** 'o Kaoa i te tuaranga i Teaupapa'
l. 8 **M1--3** 'a para taana kako'
l. 9 **M1--3** 'a tangi taana rakau'
l. 10 **M1--3** 'kō ïa'tu taeia mai'
l. 11 **M1, M2** 'naai i karanga'tu ...'
l. 12 **M1--3** 'ua pā ē'
l. 13 **M1** 'E rā a pāō te puruki'; **M2, M3** 'Era a paō te puruki!'
l. 14 **M1--3** 'Ua pau te aō e ngauta'

An alternative and slightly more literal translation of the Mangaian excerpt can be found in Chapter 11.

Some comment on the connections between the different texts can be made. The immediate textual source for the English script in **DL**, 80--82 appears to be the **E1** MS since its translation, unlike that in the **E2** MS by WWG, completely agrees with **DL**. Nor does the **E2** translation entirely correspond to that printed in later **DL** excerpts suggesting that one or more MSS fulfilling an analogous role to **E1** are missing. Presumably **E2** is an earlier version of the final draft text.

The family relationships between the various Mangaian texts in the MSS and **DL** can, to some degree, be traced. The Mangaian readings in **E1** tend more often to appear in **M1** and **M2** whereas the **E2** readings agree most often with those in **M3**. The latter MS also contains annotations by WWG which strengthens its connection to **E2**. **M1** stands at a farther remove from the other MSS owing to its inclusion of so much unique material.

However, the source for the Mangaian text in **DL** is less clear. On some occasions the texts in **E1** and **E2** differ from **DL** while the **DL** reading agrees with those in the **M** MSS. On other occasions the reverse is true. On yet other occasions one **E** and one or more **M** texts accord with that in **DL** while the others do not. Moreover, **M1--3** appear to combine as authorities for the Mangaian texts in **E1** and **E2** since the **M** readings enter both at different points. As with the English translation Gill was probably using a missing final Mangaian text, perhaps derived from a mixture of readings in the known MSS. This view seems to receive support from the way a couple of scribal reptitions in the **E2** draft are discretely corrected in **DL**. The missing MS presumably contained the corrections.

The reason for Gill adopting such a radical editorial approach to this song seems to lie in his desire to ensure that the various parts of its text closely followed the different narratives they alluded to. This is an understandable wish in a work like **DL** which forms a series of chronologically ordered historical narratives; nevertheless, Gill did not indicate that the various excerpts were related, apart from the use of the same title: '(The) War-dirge for Tuopapa'. Despite this example of Gill's editing, his general handling of the indigenous texts is fairly trustworthy, a view seconded by Te Rangi Hiroa:

> I do not think that he [WWG] wilfully altered the original text and, if his free translations are disregarded, the native text recorded furnishes valuable information.[2]

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[2] Buck to Stimson, 24 February 1932, MS SC Buck Group 3 Box 10. Copy of original in MS SC Emory Group 9 Box 4.12, BPBML.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography is divided into three sections. The first section, listing Cook Islands material, does not include all the papers consulted. However, it does list all the texts recorded from the modern Mangaian *kōrero* and now located in the National Archives of the Cook Islands. The second section incorporates all the cited books, articles and theses. The last section comprises the known serial publications by William Wyatt Gill and his first wife, Mary Layman Gill. Though I have not cited all of them--most were subsequently republished in Wyatt Gill's various ethnographies--I have incorporated them here to emphasise the range of writing which the Gills undertook. Titles of works and personal names in Cook Islands and New Zealand Maori which begin with an article or other form of particle (e.g. *e, e au, nga, 'o (ko)* or *te*) are listed under the following word.

Abbreviations:

AP = Auckland Public Library.
AAAS = Report of the ... Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science.
BAAS = Report of the ... Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.
BPBMB = Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin.
BPBML = Bernice P. Bishop Museum Library, [Honolulu].
JAI = The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
JMM = Juvenile Missionary Magazine. London. A magazine for children edited by Robert Robinson for the London Missionary Society. It contains a large number of ethnographically oriented articles on the Pacific.
JPH = Journal of Pacific History.
JPS = Journal of the Polynesian Society.
LH = Leisure Hour. London. A periodical for leisure reading by the pious.
LMSC = London Missionary Society Chronicle.
MMC = Missionary Magazine and Chronicle.
NACI = National Archives of the Cook Islands.
NLNZ, ATL = National Library of New Zealand, Alexander Turnbull Library.
PS = Polynesian Society MS Papers.
SH = Sunday at Home. A religious periodical.
SM = Sunday Magazine. A religious periodical.

A. MANGAIAN TEXTS AND RELATED COOK ISLANDS PAPERS.

Aerepo, Iviiti. ‘Te Akavareanga i te U a te Tamariki e te Akamatau anga i te Kai i te Manga’.

--------. ‘Avaiki’.

--------. ‘Te Imene o te Manu Maanga Koia Oki/ Song of the Twin Kites’.

--------. ‘Nga Ingoa e Rua, Auau[,] Mangaia’.

--------. ‘Te Kapiki Paapaanunui o Mangaia’.

--------. ‘Te Kapua anga Tangata o Auau Enua: Te Aiteanga o Auau-Akatautika’.

--------. ‘Te Marae Korero’.

--------. ‘Mateanga o te Kavana e te Ikianga i te Mono’.

--------. ‘Mire no Eamaki’.

--------. ‘Te Noo anga Kapiti anga o nga Mua Vaka o Rarotonga i Avarua, i te Ako anga Mua a Papehia i runga i te Toka o Avaiki Tautau’.

--------. ‘Nukutere’.

--------. ‘E Pee no Rori’.

--------. ‘Poi’.

--------. ‘Te Rauka anga mai o teia Ingoa Ngatoki’.

--------. ‘Te Sabati Mua i Akamata ai Papehia i tana Ako anga i Avaiki Tuatau [*sic*] e te Noo anga o nga Mua Vaka’.

--------. ‘Ta‘u Roroi’.

--------. ‘Tinirau’.

--------. ‘Te Tua ia Maikai’.

--------. ‘Te Tua ia Mokea’.

--------. ‘Te Tua ia Vaia’.

--------. ‘E Tua teia ia Rongoinga’.

--------. ‘E Tua teia ia Rori’.

--------. ‘E Tua teia no Matarau’.

--------. ‘E Tua teia no Oimara’.

--------. 'E Tua teia no te Ruru, ma te Aa e nga Tamariki ia Tu-Tearangi e te Ara Uanga o Tinomana mei te Po Kerekere mai'.

--------. 'Te Upenga, e te au mea o te Upenga'.

--------. 'E Vaka Panu tei Tae i Auau'.

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C. WORKS BY WILLIAM WYATT GILL AND MARY LAYMAN GILL (MRS WYATT GILL).

Gill, Mrs Wyatt. *Te Ata Ao: I Kiritia no roto i te "Peep of Day" and "Precept upon Precept".* London, 1875.

--------. 'Childbirth Customs of the Loyalty Islands, as related by a Mangaian Female Teacher'. Communicated by Rev. W. Wyatt Gill. *JAI* XIX (1890): 503--505. The article was published under Gill's name but Gill makes his wife's authorship clear: 'The following is from notes taken at the time by my wife'.

--------. 'From Mangaia to Sydney and Back'. *JMM*, 2 May 1870: 92--98. This was an account of a journey Mary Gill made partly for reasons of health and partly to accompany her older sons on the way to school in England.

--------. Letter from Mary Layman Gill. *JMM* (2 February 1857): 38--40. Relates a Maukean legend about Te Enua Kura told by Rauraa, a 'native teacher', while addressing the people on Mangaia.

--------. 'Loving Labourers'. *JMM*, 1875: 154--55. A translation by Mary Gill of a letter from a female Cook Islands missionary, Piri [*vaine*]. Mary Gill had as she put it, 'instructed [Piri *vaine*] with a special view of her going to the Institution at Rarotonga'. The Institution was a college where Cook Islanders were trained for mission work.

--------. 'A Mothers' Meeting in the South Seas'. *JMM*, 1875: 149--50, 175--77. The article recounts the stories told 'at our maternal meetings' by Island women missionaries who were expelled by the French from the Loyalty group.

Gill, W[illiam] Wyatt. 'Ascent of 'The Mist' Peak Rarotonga'. *Cassell's Illustrated Travels* V (1873): 279--82.

--------. *Te Bibilia Tapu.* London, 1888.

--------. 'The Bible in the South Pacific'. *SH* (1882): 546--49. Prayers and sermons by Pacific Islanders using local metaphors to explain bible. Includes piece by Vakatini outlining traditional method to catch the *ioi* (a kind of pigeon).

--------. 'The Bible in the South Pacific'. *SH* (1882): 709--10. Stories drawn from Rarotonga, including installation of Tinomana.

--------. 'Botanische Miszellen aus der Südsee'. *Geog. Ges. für Thüringen Zu Jena--Mitteilungen Band 7* (1889): 83--105.

--------. 'Captain Cook's Visit to Atiu'. *LH* (1874): 10--12. Republished as chapter 32, DL.

--------. 'Captain Cook's Visit to Mangaia'. *LH* (2 March 1867): 166--68. Republished as chapter XXX in **DL**. The text differs slightly; references to Christian missions are not included in the book's text. A number of typographical errors exist in the Mangaian song text.

--------. 'The Caroline Islands'. *LMSC* 25 (1887): 492. WWG letter reprinted from the *Standard* newspaper.

--------. '215. Childbirth Customs of the Loyalty Islands, as related by a Mangaian Female Teacher'. *JAI* XIX (1890): 503--5. See also entry under Gill, Mrs Wyatt.

--------. 'The Coco-nut Palm: A Tahitian Myth'. *LH* (1893): 778. About a Tahitian king 'Tai' and his queen 'Uta'.

--------. 'The Comet of 1882'. *LH* (1883): 253. In 'Varieties' column. Refers to a comet he has observed for a month and to the Polynesian attitude to comets as foreboding some misfortune. He had had to preach a sermon from Jude 13 to allay fears.

--------. 'No. 11.--Concerning the Name "Unga" for "Slave" at Rarotonga, South Pacific'. *AAAS* 7 (1898): 799--800. Later republished posthumously in *JPS* XX, 3 (September 1911): 128--29.

--------. Contributions to Discussions on 'Mr Stone's Letter' and a Paper on the Fly River. *Royal Geographical Society, London, Proceedings* 22 (1876): 272, 353--54. Gill based his comments upon his own visits to the Fly river. The first discussion referred to his meeting the chiefs there. 'The chiefs Mainou and Autaa were personal friends of his own, savages as they were'. In the second discussion he reports that he was the first European to ascend the Manumanu River. He thought the Fly or the Aird River had to be ascended to gain New Guinea's interior. 'As an Englishman, he was not ashamed to say that he trusted the day would come when the flag of Great Britain would wave over the eastern part of New Guinea'. Nevertheless he opposed active colonisation at present: 'It was highly desirable that there should be a right understanding with the natives; and he believed the day was coming when, like Fiji, New Guinea would voluntarily place herself under English rule'.

--------. Contribution to 'Exhibition of Natives of Queensland' by R. A. Cunningham. *JAI* XVII (1888): 83--84. Gill commented upon the three Aborigines from Northern Queensland at a meeting of the Anthropological Institute with Francis Galton in the chair. Gill argued that the Northern Queensland Aborigines were substantially the same race as those living in southwestern new Guinea. A view endorsed, according to Gill, by James Chalmers. Gill also referred to a proposal amongst scientific men in Sydney to establish a society similar to the Anthropological Institute.

--------. 'Coral Caves with Human Remains: Being Notes on Caves with Human Bones in Stalagmite, on Mangaia, in the Hervey Islands; and on the Ethnology of the Inhabitants'. *LH* (1873): 669--72. A summary version of this article appears in *BAAS* 43 (1874): 144--46.

--------. 'A Day at Norfolk Island'. *SH* (1875): 424--26.

--------. 'Disappearance of Islands'. *LH* (1884): 64. In 'Varieties' column. WWG refers to 'Lady Brassey's charming "Voyage in the Sunbeam"' who discusses an island formerly near Rarotonga which had disappeared. WWG regards this story as the invention of a lively imagination.

--------. 'The Dugong'. *LH* (1875): 823--25. Republished in **Life**, 298--302.

--------. 'Echo: or, The Cave fairy: A Legend from Mangaia'. *SH* (1894): 825.

--------. 'The Exploit of Tamaro-the-Terrible; a Myth from Manihiki'. *International Folklore Association. Archives* I (1890): 280--87.

--------. 'No. 10.--A Female Hermit of the South Pacific'. *AAAS* 7 (1898): 798--99. Later republished posthumously in *JPS* XX, 3 (September 1911): 127--28.

--------. 'The Figurative Language of the South Seas'. *SH* (1888): 477. Includes the sayings by 'wise men' on Mangaia upon the accession of a new chief.

--------. 'Fish Diet'. *LH* (1882): 252. In 'Varieties' column.

--------. 'Fishing at Penrhyns Island, South Pacific'. *LH* (1878): 758--59. Republished in **Jottings**, 145--51.

--------. '4.--The Fountain of "The Mist."--A Rarotongan Myth'. *AAAS* 2 (1890): 616--19.

--------. 'French Aggression in Polynesia'. *New Zealand Herald* (10 December 1881).

--------. '8.--The Genealogy of the Kings of Rarotonga and Mangaia, as Illustrating the Colonisation of that Island and the Hervey Group'. *AAAS* 2 (1890): 627--37.

--------. 'A Heathen Prayer'. *SH* (1882): 256. Prayer for extraction of tooth.

--------. 'The Islanders Receiving Gifts from the British Government'. *LMSC* 29 (1891): 154--55. WWG letter to the editor, *Australian Independent.*

--------. 'The "John Williams". Letter from the Rev. W. W. Gill'. *JMM* (1853): 6--10. Gill described his first arrival at and reception on Mangaia.

--------. 'Jottings from the South Pacific'. *SH* (1888): 396--97. Story from Raekura while serving on Lifu in the Loyalty Islands; kite flying in Cook Islands.

--------. 'Jottings from the South Pacific'. *SH* (1888): 684. Treatment of the aged; the rights of the eldest son.

--------. 'Jottings from the South Pacific'. *SH* (1888): 781. Images drawn from every day life by preachers. Includes the sea-snipe; story of Angene from Rarotonga.

--------. 'Jottings from the South Pacific'. *SH* (1889): 620. Includes reference to *kaî* mollusk; use of coconut shells by aged to assist walking.

--------. 'The Lament for Paoa of Mangaia Island'. *JPS* XXI, 2 (June 1912): 39--40. Published posthumously as part of a series of MS papers selected from WWG MSS.

--------. 'A Legend from Rarotonga: The Fairy of the Fountain'. *SH* (1894): 589.

--------. 'Leisure Hours in the South Pacific'. *LH* (1873): 719. A note in the 'Varieties' column quoting a letter from Gill who tells of his giving the magazines to visiting ships' officers. He praises the American sailor as being more educated and Angophile.

--------. 'Letter from Rarotonga'. *LMSC* 18 (1880): 59--60. Extract from WWG report, Hervey Islands, Rarotonga.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *JMM* (n.d.):?--10. A cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Reports Gill's arrival on Mangaia.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *?JMM* (?1854): n.p. Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Reports on work in Mangaia; the instruction of an aged woman; an 'idol', a round stone, given by its worshipper to George Gill. The man came to GG: 'His frame was convulsed, as if in an agony of excitement. The perspiration seemed to fall in streams from his forehead as he gave up his "refuge of lies."' Reports on shipwreck at Penrhyn and treatment of survivors.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *MMC* (?1852): [254]--55. Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Reports on his voyage out to Mangaia in 1851.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *MMC* (?1852): n.p. Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Part of letter reporting on first few months service in Mangaia.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill: 'The Days of darkness'. *JMM* (1 October 1856): 269--71. Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Recounts meeting a 'pious native' on the way to Ivirua to preach. WWG asked him to give an account of his 'youth and early manhood' before the successful arrival of Christianity. Reports the defeat of the man's tribe; the search for a human sacrifice.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *MMC* (1 October 1856): 219--20. Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Reports on admissions to church fellowship; discusses the unusual length of probation required due to the 'lives of the most desperate wickedness'; contributions to the mission from Australia.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *?MMC* (?1857): 3--4. Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Reports on a religious revival in Ivirua led by wives of the deacons.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *?MMC* (?1858): n.p. Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Recalls a visit to Arorangi, Rarotonga. WWG was anxious to visit 'their ancient stronghold, with its '*marae*''. He was accompanied by many 'natives'. 'After a toilsome ascent' he entered the former sacred enclosure. Two old men acting as guides pointed out the site where skulls of enemies were arranged in a semicircle. In the centre of the *marae* was an ironwood tree formerly called Tapuataravake. 'Upon occasion of victory over their foes, the heathen priests would fasten native cloth around the body of the tree; and, presenting to their idols the reeking skulls of the slain, would perform various ceremonies and incantations'.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *?MMC* (1 July 1859): 193--94. Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Reports on conversion of Pukapuka; mission work in Mangaia; ship wreck at Oneroa: Sadaraka organised the 'king' and leading men 'to exert their authority' to save the vessel; reports loss of family of Captain Blacket, son-in-law of Rev Charles Barff, in ship sinking.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *?MMC* (1 September 1863): 265--68. Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Reports on Peruvian slave traders.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill: 'South Seas: Third Voyage to the Tokelau (or Union) Group of Islands'. *MMC* (1 October 1863): 292--94. Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Extracts from report by WWG and the Rev P. Goold Bird.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *JMM* (1 March 1866): ?--60. Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Part of letter reports on a visit to various Cook Islands.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *MMC* (1 March 1865): [62]--63. Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Reports on Mangaian contributions to a new 'John Williams'.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *Evangelical Christiandom* (1866): n.p. Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Reports on the reception of the last two 'heathens' on Mangaia: Arikikaka and his wife.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *?JMM* (n.d.): [6]--8. Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Extracts from a report of a visit to Mauk[e].

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *Sydney Morning Herald* (21 October 1864). Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. On the Peruvian slave trade.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *Sydney Morning Herald* (? 21 May 1865). Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Concerning the Peruvian slavers in the South Pacific.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *The Friend* (? 1865). Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. An extract from a private letter WWG to Rev S.C. Damon which appears over a poem written by 'Starling' about the South Sea slavers.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *Patriot* (1863). Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Extracted from the *Sydney Morning Herald.* Letter by WWG dated 1 July 1863 concerning the slave traffic in the Pacific.

--------. Letter from the Rev W.W. Gill. *The Argus* (n.d.). Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Letter by Edwin Gill, brother of WWG, containing extracts from a private letter sent to EG by WWG concerning the South Pacific slavers.

--------. 'Life in the Southern Isles'. *LMSC* 20 (1882): 406--407. Extract to accompany article on Mangaia by Rev G.A. Harris.

--------. 'The Mammalia of the Pacific'. *LH* (1876): 308--309. The rat; the hog; the dog; the bat; the landing of the first horse on Lifu. Republished in **Life**, 316--20.

--------. 'The Mariner's Compass of Polynesia'. *LH* (1875): 710--11.

--------. 'The Martyrs of New Guinea'. *JMM* (November 1881): 219--20. Gill recounted the reaction of his congregation in Rarotonga to the report of a massacre of Island missionaries at Kalo on the southeast peninsula of New Guinea. A number of church members volunteered for mission work.

--------. 'Māui the Great: An Aitutakian Myth'. *LH* (1893): 548. Māui with eight heads.

--------. 'Memoir of Tapairu'. *LMSC* 19 (1881): 210--11. Tapairu-ariki of Rarotonga.

--------. 'Missionary Incidents'. *SH* (1875): 524--26. 'Anecdotes' from Fate in the New Hebrides and from Mangaia. 'They show what heathenism is in its worst estate, and by contrast, the character of the work already achieved in these islands'. Parts include 'A victim saved'; 'Buried alive'; 'An Infant rescued'; 'The two patients'; 'Makitaka's human sacrifices to Rongo'. Republished in **Life**, 337--40.

--------. 'Missionary Incidents'. *SH* (1875): 612--16. Parts include 'Forgiveness of Enemies'; 'Keeping God Waiting'; 'Parleying with the Tempter [Ina loses family property to Ngana, basis of text by Mamae]'; 'The Little Books [referring to early attitudes to Bible]'; Mamae likens *makatea* to lofty wall, preaching on Psalm cxxv.2; 'Human Sacrifices [in reign of Makitaka]'; The twin children of Potiki called '"The Inseperables"'; Sugar Cane as moral lesson; birth origins of Mangaian *ariki*;

derivation of *io*; death of Kārua: 'The Cost of a Cross Word'; 'Heathen Ideas of Creation'. Parts republished in **Life,** 331--33, 342--3, 344--46.

--------. 'Missionary Incidents'. *SH* (1875): 682--85. Includes articles on RC missionaries; 'Absolute Sway of heathen Priesthood'; death testimonials; an idol buried under pulpit on Manihiki to kill preacher; story of 'A Brave Wife'. Republished in **Life,** 343, 348--53.

--------. 'Missionary Incidents'. Part IV. *SH* (1875): 727--28. Account of early life of Maretu; Sabbath observance on Rurutu; Tinomana interprets Bible and sentences son to death. Parts republished in **Life,** 346--48.

--------. 'Monthly Religious Record'. *SH* (1884): 64. Reports death of Mrs Wyatt Gill.

--------. 'The Mound-building Megapode'. *LH* (1874): 200--201. Republished in **Life,** 313--16.

--------. 'Natural History Anecdotes'. *LH* (1873): 654--55. Poisonous fish; turtle in Torres Straits. Republished in **Life,** 273--75; 291--93.

--------. 'Natural History Anecdotes'. *LH* (1875): 584. An insect incendiary. Republished in **Life,** 312.

--------. 'Natural History Anecdotes'. *LH* (1876): 728. The fur-seal; the sea-horse. Partly republished in **Jottings,** 125--26.

--------. 'Natural History Anecdotes: Among the Alligators'. *LH* (1875): 635--36.

--------. 'Natural History Anecdotes from the South Pacific'. *LH* (1875): 199--203. A series of notes: the robber-crab; the centipede; the pitcher wasp; shark-catching at Aitutaki. Republished in **Life,** 275--78; 303--307; 308--10; 310--11; **Jottings,** 165--69.

--------. 'Natural History Notes'. *LH* (1881): 60--61. The phasma, or spectre-insect; disappearance of land-birds in Rarotonga. Republished in **Jottings,** 127--28, 158--61.

--------. 'Natural History Notes'. *LH* (1881): 356--57. Fish poisoning at Rarotonga. Republished in **Jottings,** 140--42.

--------. 'Natural History Notes'. *LH* (1881): 488. The poisonous "no'u" fish of the Pacific; papaw apple. Republished in **Jottings,** 134--37, 181--83.

--------. 'Natural History Notes'. *LH* (1881): 606--607. Lianas, or, tropical climbing plants; screw-pine, or, thatch-tree of Polynesia; the "utu"-tree of the Pacific. Republished in **Jottings,** 170--72, 183--87, 198--99.

--------. 'Natural History Notes and Anecdotes'. *LH* (1877): 215--16. The "pua" tree of the Pacific. Republished in **Jottings,** 189--91.

--------. 'Natural History Notes and Anecdotes'. *LH* (1877): 429. The flea in the South Sea Islands. Republished in **Jottings,** 163--64.

--------. 'Natural History Notes from the South Pacific'. *LH* (1880): 677--78. Clams and clam-diving; voice in fishes. Republished in **Jottings,** 151--57.

--------. 'New Guinea'. *LH* (1875): 532--33. Comments on a work *Wanderings in the Interior of New Guinea* by Captain Lawson.

--------. 'New Guinea Revisited'. *SM* (1874): 767--70. The article supplements the papers delivered earlier by Mr McFarlane. Gill supplied a commentary upon his texts; his illustrations of Papuans and their cultural artifacts were also used in McFarlane's articles. Gill related his own visits to the southeast and southwest portions of New Guinea. It included a footnoted letter from J.D. Hooker who could not identify a palm which Gill had referred to him at the Royal Gardens, Kews.

--------. Note on Pitcairn Island. *LH* (1894): 811. Reports on an outbreak of typhus caused by wrecked ship, 1893.

--------. 'Notes from the South Pacific'. *LH* (1872): 55--58. A series of short natural history articles: Sword-fish; Sea-serpents. Republished in **Jottings**, 137--40; **Life**, 278--81, 281--83.

--------. 'Notes from the South Pacific. I.--Burial Customs and the Dead'. *SM* (1874): 55--57.

--------. 'Notes from the South Pacific. III. A Sabbath at Titikaveka.--A Contrast'. *SM* (1874): 171--73. Republished in **Life**, 164--68.

--------. 'Notes from the South Pacific. II.--Human Sacrifices from circa 1809 to 1823'. *SM* (1874): 85--88.

--------. 'Notes from the South Pacific. IV. A Glance at the Mission Premises, Avarua, Rarotonga'. *SM* (1874): 231--33. Republished in **Life**, 158--63.

--------. 'Notes from the South Pacific. V.--The Law of Primogeniture ... VIII.--Grace before Meals'. *SM* (1874): 374--77.

--------. 'Notes from the South Pacific. IX.--Strange Thanks for a Supper'. *SM* (1874): 709--12.

--------. 'Notes from the South Pacific'. *LH* (1889): 69. In 'Varieties' column. Series of natural history notes: discovery of a dead sperm whale floating at sea and finding of 850 lbs. of ambergis; health of pre-European teeth owing to diet; twisting banana leaves as sign of cyclone; sandhopper; walking fish; brassy crab; bird of paradise; a native breed of smaller sized fowls living in interior of Rarotonga, food for chiefs, used for cockfighting, similar breed observed by Bligh on Aitutaki though not found on Mangaia; Polynesian naiades, the *kativai* fish.

--------. 'Notes on Coral-Caves with Human Bones in Stalagmite on Mangaia, South Pacific'. *BAAS* 43 (1873): 144--46. A summary of the article. Gill reports his investigations of a burial cave, using information from the '"wise men"' regarding their age and identity. He concludes that the Hervey Islands were peopled in comparatively recent times. He estimates the time to have been five or six centuries ago. He believed the Mangaians originated from Samoa. The Samoans in their turn, he believed, were undoubtedly Asian and Semitic.

A longer version of this summary appears in *LH* (1872): 669--72.

--------. 'Notes on New Guinea'. *LH* (1874): 45--47. A description of New Guinea and its people.

--------. Obituary for Mrs Gill of Rarotonga. *LMSC* 21(1883): 393--94. Extract from WWG letter.

--------. Obituary for Maretu. *LMSC* 18 (1880): 210.

--------. Obituary for Rev Charles Pitman. *LMSC* 22 (1884): 372--73.

--------. 'The Octopus in the Pacific'. *LH* (1872): 251--52. Republished in **Life**, 283--91.

--------. 'The Octopus of the South Pacific'. *LH* (1874): 638--39. Partly republished in **Life**, 283--91.

--------. 'Old Truths in New Lights: Illustrations of Scripture by Native Polynesian Preachers'. Part One. *SH* (1874): 87--91.

--------. 'Old Truths in New Lights: Illustrations of Scripture by Native Polynesian Preachers'. Part Two. *SH* (1874): 229--32.

--------. 'Old Truths in New Lights: Illustrations of Scripture by Native Polynesian Preachers'. Part Three. *SH* (1874): 342--46. Includes speech by Vaitamana outlining his escapes from Mangaian inaugural sacrifices; story of Te-erui and Matareka seeking for light.

--------. 'Old Truths in New Lights: Illustrations of Scripture by Native Polynesian Preachers'. Part Four. *SH* (1874): 411--12. Kotuku maltreatment of Pataariri who is saved by the 'shadow of Rongo'; the warning of the *kauā* bird.

--------. 'Old Truths in New Lights: Illustrations of Scripture by Native Polynesian Preachers'. Part Five. *SH* (1874): 568--73. Comments on 'striking peculiarity' of oratory, using first instead of third person; Mangaian *maninitori* (traditional wedding ceremony) described; Tukekovi who eats her son Mikia during period of warfare; speeches by Numangatini, Kirimaniania; bowels, the seat of emotions; the deacons Taata and Mauapa; a human sacrifice, 1813; the bread fruit tree.

--------. 'Old Truths in New Lights'. *SH* (1884): 86--88.

--------. 'Omens of Pregnancy, Mangaia'. *AAAS* 4 (1892): 613--14.

--------. 'On the Origin of the South-Sea Islanders'. *BAAS*, August 1875: 173--74; *JAI* VI (1877): 2--3. A summary of Gill's paper. He criticised Alfred Wallace's conclusion in *The Malay Archipelago* (4th ed., 593) that the Polynesians were descended from a race which had formerly overspread a vast submerged southern continent. Gill posited four grounds for his opposition:

1. People could not have subsisted for long on the tops of Pacific mountains.
2. The theory opposed indigenous accounts regarding their origins which pointed to the north-west.
3. The spread of Pacific Islanders could be accounted for on the basis of historical facts; Gill described certain accidental drift voyages.
4. He argued for a Malay origin on the grounds of colour, hair, physiognomy, habits, character and especially language. 'The author believes that long ages ago the progenitors of the present race entered the Pacific from the south-eastern fork of New Guinea, but were driven to the eastward by the fierce Negrito race'.

--------. 'Our Missionary Ships'. *JMM*, 1 (September 1873): 155--56.

--------. 'Outstations of the Hervey Group'. *LMSC* 22 (1884): 86--89.

--------. 'Un Pays de Dieux: Atiu'. *Société des Études Océaniennes Bulletin* X (1958): 757--61. Translated by P. Rey-Lescure from an 1874 *LH* article.

--------. 'Pearl Fishery in Australia'. *LH* (1873): 677--78. Republished in **Life**, 293--97.

--------. 'Pearl Oyster of Torres Straits'. *LH* (1875): 416.

--------. 'Piri, the Senior Pioneer Teacher of New Guinea'. *SH* (1889): 349--50. Obituary.

--------. 'The Pitcairn Islanders in Norfolk Island'. No source. Cutting in SSSP Newell 10. Excerpts from a letter by a missionary, presumably WWG. Letter originally sent to the *Burnley Advertiser.*

--------. 'A Polynesian Drama'. *LH* (1 January 1870): 42--45.

--------. 'Polynesia: Missionary Visit to the Penrhyn and Manihiki Groups'. *MMC* (1 December 1862): 337--341. Copy of article in SSP 1, 'Rev W. Wyatt Gill's M/S Book'.

--------. 'Porpoises at Penrhyns'. *LH* (1884): 64. In 'Varieties' column.

--------. 'The Rarotongan Institution'. *LMSC* 26 (1888): 164--68.

--------. 'Reed-throwing'. *JPS* V, 2 (1896): 191--92.

--------. Remarks in *Coral Islands and Savage Myths, Origins of Coral Reefs.*

--------. 'Remarks on the Legend of Honoura'. *JPS* V, 2 (1896): 125--27.

--------. Report by WWG on Visit to New Guinea. *SH* (1884): 688.

--------. 'Revised Rarotongan Bible'. *LMSC* 24 (1886): 479--80.

--------. 'Savage Island'. *SH* (1894): 269. In 'Things New and Old' column.

--------. 'Some Traditions of the Hervey Islanders'. *BAAS* 45 (1875): 174--75; *JAI* VI (1877): 3--5. A summary of the paper. Gill referred to 'Avaiki; the priestly doctrine of the passage of the soul; and the fate of warriors.

The *JAI* article includes discussion of this and the article 'On the Origin of the South Sea Islanders'.

--------. '4. A Song from Mangaia, Hervey Group, South Pacific'. *AAAS* 3 (1891): 364--66. The song was 'The Praises of Enuataurere' composed by Rako'ia for his deceased daughter. Rako'ia subsequently named Gill's daughter after his child.

--------. 'A Song from Mangaia Island, Cook Group'. *JPS* XX, 3 (September 1911): 129--33. A farewell chant composed in the memory of Vaiana by her husband Naupata.

--------. 'South Sea Island Riddles'. *LH* (1881): 572. In 'Varieties' column.

--------. 'South Seas--Hervey Islands'. *LMSC* 22 (1884): 45.

--------. 'The Story of Tu and Rei'. *AAAS* 4 (1892): 603--12.

--------. 'Sunday on Palmerston Island'. *Goodwords* XIX (1878): 92.

--------. 'Things New and Old'. *SH* (1887): 670. The arrival of soap has improved cleanliness of Polynesian: 'The Hervey Islanders in their original condition were never a cleanly race'. The cleanliness of today he considers the most distinct mark of the contrast between the past and the present. Polynesian burial of the dead.

--------. 'Things New and Old'. *SH* (1887): 695. WWG has not found a trace of the negrillo in Hervey group. He considers the idea of a black race overrunning the Eastern Pacific as a fiction.

--------. 'Things Old and New'. *SH* (1885): 125. A visit to Savage Island [Niue].

--------. 'Things Old and New'. *SH* (1887): 813--14. Includes a report of a conversation with Taraaere, 'the last priest of Tangaroa', on Rarotonga about cannibalism.

--------. 'II. Three Visits to New Guinea'. *Royal Geographical Society, London, Proceedings* 18 (1872): 31--49; *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* XLIV (1874): 15--30.

--------. 'Torres Straits and New Guinea'. *LH* (1874): 217--20; 245--48; 775--79; 822--23. A series of articles describing Gill's participation in the establishment of the LMS mission on the mainland of New Guinea. Republished in **Life**, chapter VI.

--------. 'Traditions of the Deluge'. *SH* (1874): 810--11. Story from Mangaia: contest between Aokeu, a son of Echo [Tumuteanaoa] and Ake who lived at sea. Rangi appeals to Rongo when water reaches highest point of the island. Another story from Raka'anga.

--------. 'Tragedy of Mitiaro'. *Cassell's Illustrated Travels* VI (1874): 149--51.

--------. 'Tristan D'Acunha'. *LH* (1877): 490--91.

--------. 'Visit of H.M.S. Kingfisher to Rarotonga'. *LH* (1883): 704.

--------. 'A Visit to New Guinea'. *LMSC* 22 (1884): 287--89.

--------. 'Women's Rights in the South Pacific'. *SH* (1882): 620. Queen Makea organises women to enforce temperance.

--------. 'Zoologische Miszellen aus der Südsee'. *Geog. Ges für Thüringen zu Jena--Mitteilungen Band 7 Keft 1--2* (1888).